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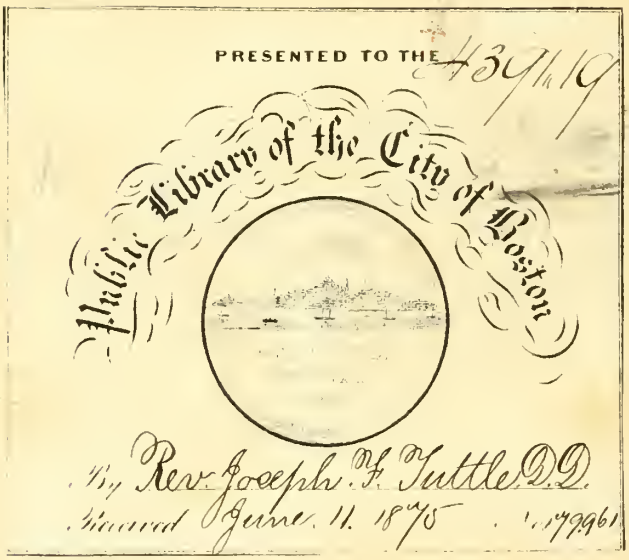
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[Miscellaneous contributions to Dawson's Historical magazine.] New York. 1871-73. pph. v. 8°.

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X.

Some of your readers would be astonished if I were to tell them that up at Lansing's grove, where the Lansing family now live, there was once a large nail-factory; and that the brook that comes down through there, and across the road, furnished the power; and yet such is the truth. Otis Bates owned the factory and, in truth, the whole property. He had near one hundred men at work there. William Lansing, father of John and Jacob, the owners of the lumber-yard, bought the property of Bates.

The tavern, in Batestown, known as Barney Adams's place, was built by Bates; and, just below it, on the same side, he had a large nail-factory. The brook furnished the power.

There are some old houses in the village. The house owned and occupied by Esek Hawkins, Esq., was built in 1753. Old Billy Douglas worked on it. Some of your old readers must remember him. He was a hard old nut. A man by the name of Van Rensselaer, one of the Patroon's family, had it built, as also the one where Jabez Hawkins lives. It was said to be the best house North of Albany; and it was, at that time, in Albany-county. Van Rensselaer sold this house to a man named French. This man was very wealthy, and carried on an immense trade in grain. The house of Jabez Hawkins was, at that time, four stories high, and used as a store-house for grain; the upper story was finished off for lodging-rooms, for his clerks. This French was a notorious out-spoken Tory—so much so, in fact, that Government seized and confiscated his property; and he fled into Canada. There he got into trouble, from some cause, and into prison, whence his wife rescued him, by exchanging clothes with him and thus passing him out.

After the surrender of Burgoyne, the store-house was used as a hospital. There was a legend, and it still obtains credence among the old people, that French, before he fled, buried large sums of money in the yard attached to that house, and near the well. What labor has been expended and what brains racked to find this buried treasure? So many veils looked through; so many divining rods, sticks of witch hazel, old women, consulted. Why, the number of visions vouchsafed to Frisbie Way, on that subject, are incredible.

On the close of the War, the Government sold the house to a man named Banker, and he to Armington. This last failing to pay, the property was sold to the present occupant.

On the river bank, and across from the house, was a ship-yard; and, North of this, a saw-pit.

North of the Hawkins' house, is, to-day, an old, brown, brick house, known as the Spafford-house; built before the Revolution. Here Doctor Spafford lived and died. He was a man of great erudition; and his family was more than ordinarily intelligent—the Doctor died of cholera, during its first visitation, I think, in 1834.

Speaking of Burgoyne's army, reminds me of Schuyler's position, on the island across from Waterford. He had troops stationed there. Before the dam was constructed, there was a road running, Northward, from Albany, crossing over on Green-island, and thence, fording the river, to Van Schaick's-island, up through to Canada. Those who have examined this last-named island, will remember a wagon-road, extending from the Manor-house to the lower extremity. It is bounded on the West by a piece of woods. Well, this road is a section of that old military-road, above spoken of, and often echoed to the march of armed men and the rolling of heavy cannon and ammunition-wagons. Schuyler and Gates often galloped over this road; and the lopeing Indian was no stranger to its windings. Schuyler built earth-works on the island, opposite Waterford; and one or two of them are yet in good preservation—they were called, in military parlance, "lunes," because of their shape. These lunes were pierced for cannon. Near these earthworks, was an old mill, whose power was supplied by a canal cut into the side of the island. The mill stood there for many years; and finally gave way to the freshets.

Before the dam was built, at Troy, the navigation, here, in Summer, amounted to very little. It was not difficult to cross to Waterford, dry shod. At Waterford, or, as it was called in old times, Half Moon Point, a wharf had been extended out, a great distance, for convenience in loading and unloading goods. A portion of that wharf remained there until a comparatively recent period.

But to come back to the Hawkins' corner. This was the scene of some of Hollyhock's exploits. A pair of blankets were stolen from some one, up town; and it was suspected that Holly was the thief, as he most certainly was. He lived in an old house, across from Captain Hawkins; and the Captain and Ralph Mygat—he worked at tin-work, for Filley, and, finally, moved on a farm, in Saratoga-county, and died there—went over to search the house for the missing blankets. They found them secreted under the floor. Old Holly was watching the operation; and, as soon as the blankets came to light, he exclaimed: "Them as hides finds." This was turning the tables with a vengeance. These blankets sent Holly to State's Prison. He would go to Filley's tin-shop, and pick up pieces of tin, the size of a sixpence, cut out with a punch. These he would hammer out; and up to Fordham's he would go, and call for

a drink. "Where is your money?" says Fordham. "Here," says Holly, holding out the bogus six-pence, closely held between his thumb and finger. The old man, with feeble sight, seeing the shining edge, would pour out the fluid, which Holly would quickly swallow, and then drop the tin, and stalk out with loud guffaw.

Hollyhock was an unadulterated, unmitigated nigger. He was employed to saw a pile of hickory-wood, for which he was to receive a dollar. He picked out the lightest and softest sticks; these he sawed and threw carefully over the other, so that the pile appeared to be cut through. He got his money, and laughed at his employer. OLD MAN.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, IN MORRIS-COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

BY THE LATE REV. RICHARD WEBSTER, OF MAUCH CHUNK, PENN.

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, BY REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, PRESIDENT OF WABASH UNIVERSITY, IND.

[In 1854, an effort was made, by a few persons, to organize arrangements for a general celebration of the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the organization of Morris-county, New Jersey, mainly with the hope of securing documents and sketches pertaining to its early history. The general effort failed; but several important contributions to Morris-county history were secured. Among these, was an extended paper from the pen of that remarkable man, the late Rev. Richard Webster, of Manch Chunk. His paper is entitled *A Brief Sketch of the History of the Presbyterian Churches in Morris-county, New Jersey.* This, with several letters addressed to myself, personally, are so valuable as to warrant their being put into a permanent form, for reference.

By the consent of that most devoted and unselfish Presbyterian historian, Joseph M. Wilson, Esq., the Publisher as well as Editor of *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac*—an invaluable series of annuals—I have condensed the sketch of Mr. Webster's life which is found in the *Presbyterian Almanac* for 1864, pp. 205—207, as a fitting preface to these letters, which, for the first time, are given to the press. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE.

WABASH COLLEGE, INDIANA, April 19, 1871.]

I.

A MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. RICHARD WEBSTER.

BY PRESIDENT TUTTLE.

Richard Webster, the son of Charles R. and Cynthia (Steele) Webster, was born in Albany, New York, on the fourteenth of July, 1811. His father was a prominent bookseller, in that city, and published an influential newspaper. Mr. Webster's love of books and newspaper-writings was, undoubtedly, nurtured by his father's occupation. His mother belonged to one of the good old families of Albany, whose praise is in the churches. Well-cultivated, in early life, his mind expanded, under the influence of his collegiate and theological course, and received great strength and discipline from the higher studies incident to his profession. Blessed with a retentive memory, he treasured up what he acquired. He was a hard student, all his life. He possessed warm social feelings. The emotional part of his nature was simple and earnest, and was a true balance to his insatiable love of knowledge. When free from restraint, and among friends, he loved to indulge his natural humor. Few persons, indeed, had more wit, more genuine playfulness, a more rich vein of native fun. This exuberant capacity for amusing others, often manifested itself in pleasant and jocose remarks, producing irresistible laughter. His nature was eminently social; but deafness interrupted, especially in the latter part of his life, this genial flow of soul. In the family, his affectionate disposition showed itself in endearing and delightful manifestations. Having graduated at Union-college, Schenectady, N. Y., in 1829, and at Princeton Seminary, in 1834, after finding that the plan he had in view, of going to India, had to be abandoned, he entered upon his Master's service, as a Domestic Missionary, at South Easton, Pennsylvania, having been ordained, as an Evangelist, by the Albany Presbytery, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1835.

From South Easton, he extended his labors to Mauch Chunk, thirty-eight miles from Easton, on the Lehigh-river. The coal-mines had only been opened a few years; and a population of about two thousand had collected in that vicinity. His labors were so successful that, by the Spring of 1836, there had been a church organized, a lot secured, and the money partly raised for building a church-edifice, which was erected and dedicated, in February, 1837.

Among the incidental labors of the years of his ministry, was a constant contribution to the religious press. Few men, who were not regularly in the editorial chair, wrote more; but, most of this period, he gave the strength of a mind, which seemed to have been constituted by God for the work, to gathering up, and preparing for publication, what could be found of the early history of the Presbyterian-church in the United States, and of the lives of her early Ministers. In the prosecution of this work, he became the repository of almost everything that could be collected, in connection with them. Since the effort has been commenced among the churches to prepare histories of their early settlement and organization, he has been called upon, continually, for a history of some church or preacher; and, from his generous disposition, he has been tasked with writing, almost weekly, such sketches and histories, many of which have

Joseph F. Tuttle, President.
D. O Hovey, Prof. Chem. and Geology
C. Mills, Prof. Greek.
S. S. Thomson, Prof. Latin.
J. L. Campbell, Prof. Math., &c.
W. C. White, Prof. Rhet. & Mod. Lang
H. B. Carrington, Prof. Mil. Sci.
D. A. Bassett, Prin. Prep. Dep.
M. M. Whiteford, Assoc. Prin.
H R. Thomson, Assoc. Prof. Chem.
H. Z. McLain, Assoc. Prof. in Greek.
Alex. Thomson, Treasurer.

Wabash College,

Crawfordsville, Ind., June 9 1875

Dear Sir,

I send you by express several valuable pamphlets.

In addition to these a set of the articles published in Dawson's His Mag. which I would be glad to have bound together although you have them in the magazine itself.

Very Truly Yours
Joseph F. Tuttle.

J. Minot
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appeared in the historical Sermons preached and published by Pastors. In the histories of the Church, in different States, published within a few years, large contributions have been furnished by him, in addition to the numerous articles contributed, on this subject, to the religious press of our own Church. *The History of the Presbyterian Church*, to which he had devoted so much time and attention, and which had been looked for with so much anxiety, happily for the Church, had so far reached its completion as to be in readiness for publication, and, under the auspices of the "Historical Society," was about being placed in the printers' hands, a few weeks before his disease. He prepared, at the request of the Board of Publication, *A Digest of the Acts of the Assembly*, which is a most valuable book of reference, in our church judicatories.

The field to which he had given his regular labors, for twenty-one years, was the congregation collected at Mauch Chunk. There, he had been greatly blessed, in collecting and gathering into the fold of the Great Shepherd, many souls who will hail him with joy, before the throne, as their father in the Gospel of Christ. The congregation had gradually so increased, notwithstanding deaths and the numerous changes incident to such a population, that persons could not obtain sittings. His labors were unto the last. After his first attack, which was severe, he preached twice to his own people. On the last Sabbath, he got out of his bed, and went into the church and preached from the words: "Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for "God took him." As he closed the Sermon, with the prayer that both Pastor and people might so live, that, when they came to die, it might be said of them, with truth, they had walked with God, many of the congregation thought, and some of them remarked, that he seemed as if he was preaching his last Sermon. And so it proved. About half past one o'clock in the morning of the day he died, he requested that his children should be awakened to see him, and bid him farewell, as he might not live until daylight. When they came, he embraced them, kissed each of them, and prayed for them, which he did several times. He gave directions about things of his house and family, his funeral, who should preach, his burial,—avoiding all show—and mentioned friends to whom he wished letters to be written. He said he would like to live for his family and the Church; lamented the vacancies, and need of Ministers for the Missionary fields. "O how I love the cause of Missions! "I am comfortable. It seems impossible that I "am drawing near to death. I can well pity "the poor sinner, drawing near his end, and so "little in the circumstances to aid him in his "preparation. My voice and words fail me to "express the trust I have in God. I would like "to say to the impenitent, sickness is no time to "prepare to meet God: when there is a sinking "of all the faculties, it is hard to do anything—"hard to enter in at the strait gate—hard to find "the narrow way. If this be death, it approach-"es with tender, gentle, loving embrace: I feel "no pain, no apprehensions. I look forward "with joy to meeting my Savior, with perfect "calmness of mind, and assurance of the bless-"ing of the Lord upon myself, my wife, my "family, my friends, and the church of God." He died on the nineteenth of June, 1856.

He married, in 1838, Miss Elizabeth Cross, of Baltimore, Maryland, who, with six children, survives him.

II.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN MORRIS-COUNTY, N. J.

By the Rev. Richard Webster.

Among the elements of the prosperity, the moral worth, the social joys, the family order, and the personal example, which constitute so much of the honor of Morris-county, who can deny a large and a high place to the Presbyterian Church?

In searching the records of the Presbyteries of Philadelphia, New York, and New Brunswick, and of the Synods of Philadelphia and New York and of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, the materials of this paper were chiefly found.

The Presbytery of Philadelphia had jurisdiction over all the congregations in New Jersey, until 1733, when the Presbytery of East Jersey was erected. The Presbytery of New Brunswick was erected in 1738, with the Raritan for a boundary, to include Staten Island, Piscatics. Amboy, Bound Brook, Baskingridge, Turkey, Rocksitieus, Minisink, Pequally, and Crosswieks. At the same time, the Presbytery of Long Island, covering the Province of New York, was united to East Jersey Presbytery, under the name of the Presbytery of New York. The Rev. John Cross was settled at Newark-mountains, as early as 1732; and was blessed with a remarkable revival of religion, in 1735, noticed by Edwards, in his *Thoughts on Revivals.* He then removed to Baskingridge, where his labors were attended with great success.

The Congregation of Hanover is first mentioned, on the Records of the Synod of Philadelphia, in 1733. The Records of the Philadelphia Presbytery are gone, from 1717 to 1733; and all the Records of the East Jersey Presbytery are lost; and those of New York, till 1775. It was represented, in September of that year, by its Pastor, Mr. John Nutman, and an Elder, Mr. Abraham Kitchell. Nutman was a native of

Newark; of a Scotch family, of such high standing that, on graduating at Yale, in 1727, his name was placed at the head of the Roll. He was probably the first Jerseyman ordained by the Presbytery: the date of his settlement at Hanover is unknown. He came to Synod, to seek relief from two grievances. Must the congregation abide by the lot which had been drawn and which fixed the site of the meeting-house where many were unwilling to place it? Might the people of West Hanover (Morristown) separate from his charge, and build a meeting-house for themselves? The matter was ended, in 1734, by a decision, that, as matters stood, it was impracticable to comply with the lot; and, therefore, they might select a new site and "reflect upon their past practices, in order to "repentance." The difficulty with West Hanover subsisted till the twenty-sixth of July, 1738, when a Committee of Synod met at Hanover, and Mr. Nutman and his friends acknowledged they had not been damaged by the withdrawal of West Hanover, "being in growing circum-"stances, and able to support themselves."

Mr. Nutman left in 1745, and taught, in Newark. He died on the first of September, 1750, aged forty-eight.

The Rev. Jacob Green was ordained and installed, by the New York Presbytery, Pastor at Hanover, in November, 1746. He was born at Malden, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of January, 1722. He graduated, in 1744, at Harvard-college; and was converted under the preaching of Gilbert Tennent. He came, with Whitfield, to New Jersey, and studied divinity with Dickinson and Burr; and was licensed, in September, 1745, at Elizabethtown. In 1755, Parsippany was set off as a distinct congregation. He was chosen Vice-president of Nassau Hall, on the twenty-second of November, 1758. In 1772, he wrote largely to Doctor Bellamy, setting forth his plan for increasing the number of Ministers by shortening the course of study and diminishing the amount of information required. "Now," he says, "we first make "them gentlemen, then Ministers." At the close of the Revolution, on the eighteenth of October, 1779, he withdrew from New York Presbytery and, with his son-in-law, Mr. Bradford, of South Hanover (Madison) Mr. Grover of Parsippany, and Mr. Amri Lewis, of Orange-county, New York, formed the Morris-county Presbytery. This congregation refused to follow him; and the Presbytery advised them to retain their aged and valued Minister.

Mr. Green established the Morris-county Society for the promotion of Learning and Religion—at once an Education and a Missionary Society. It was incorporated by the Legislature; and, among others aided by it, was Seth Wells, a native of Long Island and long the head of the Society of Shakers, at New Lebanon. The funds and corporate privileges are now held and used by the Newark Presbytery. He died on the twenty-fourth of May, 1790, in the midst of a blessed revival of religion.

Baskingridge is spoken of by the Synod, in 1733, as the place where the people of West Hanover might attend meeting, if they did not like to go to Hanover. Aid was asked from the funds, for their meeting-house and that at Perth Amboy, the two places being served by Mr. Cross. He was a native of Scotland; eminent, as a preacher; and not less eminent for piety. Whitfield greatly loved him, as one willing to endure hardness for Jesus Christ. His itinerations were displeasing to Dickinson; and were complained of, to the Synod. He required, it is said, that parents, in presenting children for baptism, should own the Solemn League and Covenant. Davenport supplied his place while he travelled, preaching as he went. He had great success on Staten Island: several hundreds of his own people believed unto salvation. Whitfield came home with him; and wonders were wrought, that day, at Baskingridge, as Horatius Bonar calls it, in his new edition of Gillies' *Historical Collections*.

Mr. Cross was one of the first members of the New Brunswick Presbytery, and was soon called up for a debate (or contention) with Daniel Chambers. Subsequently, he was excluded by the majority of the Synod of Philadelphia, in 1741; and, not long after, when the revival was at its height, "his dreadful scandals came to "light," and he was cut off by his Presbytery. They refused to restore him, because they had no sufficient proof of his repentance. But a great body of people adhered to him and heard him, gladly. President Dickinson mentions this, as showing the existence of Antinomianism. In the great land-riots, he was charged with being a chief counsellor of the people who held under those who bought the lands for a five-shilling-bill and a bottle of rum.

On his suspension, Baskingridge and Staten Island called the Rev. Charles McKnight, in 1742; and then the Rev. Joseph Lamb, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1744, was called to the former church, alone.

Mr. Lamb graduated at Yale, in 1717, and was ordained, probably, by Long Island Presbytery, Pastor in the town of Southhold, over the church of Mattituck. Of his stay at Baskingridge, we know nothing, but that he was one of the first Trustees of New Jersey College. He died, in 1749.

Samuel Kennedy was born in Scotland, in 1720; graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1749; was taken on trial, by New Brunswick Presbytery,

on the sixth of December, 1749; licensed on the eighteenth of May, 1750; was settled, in Baskingridge, on the twenty-sixth of June, 1750; and remained there till his death, on the thirty-first of August, 1787, though almost tempted to leave through insufficient support.

To him, succeeded Dr. Robert Finley. His father accompanied Dr. Witherspoon to America, and resided at Princeton. His son used to say his father had more divinity and church-history in his little finger than he had in his whole body.

Morristown obtained the services of Mr. John Cleverly, a graduate of Harvard, and applied to the Synod for his Ordination, the Presbytery being unwilling to countenance their separation from Mr. Nutman. It was left, in September, 1735, to Philadelphia Presbytery. In May, 1736, the people pressed the Presbytery to proceed, and was directed to appoint a day that they might meet on the spot. In August, 1737, no appointment had been made, and the Presbytery resolved to set out the next day for West Hanover. Objections were made to his ordination; but the Presbytery did not judge him unfit for the ministry, and advised him, by reason of the opposition, to seek another field of labor. They sent to the Rector of Yale College to send them a candidate; for they knew no other way to supply them. The people again applied to the Synod, in May, 1738; and a Committee was appointed, which met at Hanover, on the twenty-sixth of July. There were present, Mr. Andrews, of Philadelphia, Gilbert Tennent and his brother William, Mr. John Cross, Mr. Cowell of Trenton, and Mr. Treat of Abingdon. Gilbert Tennent preached from *Ezekiel*, xi., 19; Mr. Kitchel, on behalf of Hanover, set forth their weakness, as a reason for desiring to be joined with West Hanover, on any reasonable terms. The Committee led all parties to agree that there should be two separate Societies; and that, in order to prevent difficulties between the western part of Baskingridge, liberty be given to all to unite with either congregation, as they shall choose, on paying what they now owe. West Hanover had now become "one half abler" than in 1732. Mr. Cleverly remained there till he died, in advanced life, on the thirty-first of December, 1776— "a man greatly beloved." He lived on a small property he possessed, and probably served the church, till Mr. Johnes came, on the thirteenth of August, 1742.

The Rev. Timothy Johnes was a native of Southampton, Long Island, and graduated at Yale, in 1737. He seems to have married, and resided in New Hanover; for, when the second church in that town was gathered, it worshipped in the house of Timothy Johnes. He was ordained by the New York Presbytery, on the ninth of February, 1743, and died, of dysentery, in September, 1794, aged seventy-eight. Three precious revivals built up the church, in numbers, knowledge, and piety.

Rocksiticus is mentioned as a congregation set off from the East Jersey Presbytery to that of New Brunswick, in 1738: it was restored, at its request, to New York Presbytery, the next year. Before 1740, there was a meeting-house, a mile and a half from Mendham.

The Rev. Eliah Byram was settled in October, 1743, his brother Ebenezer having removed there from Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Mr. Byram graduated at Hanover, and was probably ordained by the New York Presbytery. He accompanied David Brainerd to Ope-hot-haw-pung, (Wapunallopen) in Lucerne-county, and was sent by the Synod to the Valley of Virginia, in 1747. A revival began, under his labors, which continued for several years. He joined the New Brunswick Presbytery, in May, 1751; and declined a call to settle at Falling Spring and Providence, Virginia; accepted a call to Amwell, New Jersey, on the twenty-fifth of June, 1751; and died there, before May, 1754. It is said the Rev. John Pierson, a son of the Rector of Yale, succeeded him, in 1753. This fact is asserted in the Mendham records. Did he conform to the English mode, and take Holy Orders?

Francis Peppard, a native of Ireland, graduated, at Nassau Hall, in 1762, and was taken on trial, by the New Brunswick Presbytery, with a view to laboring in Nova Scotia; on being licensed, was united to Hardwick and Mendham; was ordained, by the New York Presbytery, at Mendham, in 1764; and, in 1773, was dismissed to the New Brunswick Presbytery; then settled at Upper and Lower Hardwick, New Jersey; and left, in 1779. He was installed at Allentownship (Brainerd's Irish settlement in the Forks of Delaware) in August, 1783; and resigned, in 1794. He returned to Hardwick, and died there, on the thirtieth of March, 1797. His grandson, the Rev. Joseph Kerr, was one of the first Missionaries of the Presbyterian Board to the Indians.

Thomas Lewis graduated at Yale, in 1741; and was ordained and installed over the North Society, in Fairfield, Connecticut, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1744. He was called to Bethlehem, in Hunterton-county, New Jersey, on the fourteenth of October, 1747; and labored there and at Kingwood, till the twenty-fifth of May, 1756. He then settled at Hopewell and at Lawrence; left, on the twentieth of May, 1760; was at Smithtown, Long Island, from 1763 to 1769; and was the Pastor of Mendham, from 1769 till his death, in May, 1778, [*August, 1777?*] A zealous friend of the great revival, John Joline, graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1775; was taken on

trial, by the New Brunswick Presbytery, in May, 1776; and licensed on the tenth of October. Hardystone and Rockaway asked for him, in March, 1779: he spent a year there, but declined the call. Mendham asked for him, on the eighteenth of October, 1779; but the invasion hindered his ordination, till the eighteenth of October, 1780, when he was ordained by the New York Presbytery; and was dismissed to settle in Florida, Orange-county, New York, in February, 1795.

Smithbury is mentioned, in September, 1734, as belonging to Philadelphia; and was, at the request of the people, put under the Presbytery of East Jersey.

Pequally is mentioned as set off to the New Brunswick Presbytery, in 1738; is occasionally mentioned, afterwards, in connection with Minisink. How far did Pequannock township stretch, in 1738, or was this the old sound given to Paaquerry?

South Hanover had the Rev. Azariah Horton, for Pastor, on his resigning his Indian Mission at Southampton, Long Island, in 1753. He was born, as said in Riker's *History of Newtown*, in Southhold, Long Island; but his parents early removed to East Jersey. He graduated at Yale, in 1735; and was ordained, by the New York Presbytery, a Missionary to the Indians, in 1740, or 1741. Being much annoyed by the Separates, and the Indians being reduced very much, in numbers, he left them. He was dismissed from South Hanover, in November, 1776; and died on the twenty-seventh of March, 1777.

Ebenezer Bradford, born in Canterbury, Connecticut; and graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1773. While in college, he was instrumental in promoting a revival of religion; very zealous for "the truth," as he called Doctor Bellamy's system; and licensed, by the New York Presbytery, in 1775. He was called to Huntington, Long Island. Roxbury asked for his Ordination; he was ordained on the thirteenth of July, 1775, on application from "a broken and divided peo-"ple," Black-river and Sucasunna. In 1779, he settled at South Hanover; withdrew, in May, 1779; after 1781, he settled at Bethel, in Danbury, Connecticut; then at Rowley, Massachusetts; and died there, in 1801. Under his preaching, from I *Timothy*, ii., 5, his brother-in-law, Doctor Ashbel Green, was converted. His sons were Rev. Doctor John M. Bradford, of the Reformed Dutch Church, Albany; Rev. James Bradford, of Shellield, Massachusetts; the Hon. E. G. Bradford, President Judge of York and Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and Moses Bradford, Esq., of Wilmington, Delaware.

Alexander Miller, from Scotland, graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1754; was licensed by the New York Presbytery, in 1768; ordained an Evangelist, by the New York Presbytery, on the fifth of June, 1770; labored at Schenectady; was installed at South Hanover, on the second of July, 1783; dismissed on the nineteenth of June, 1787; was the head of Hackensack Academy, till 1796, when he joined Albany Presbytery. He resided and taught, in Columbia Presbytery, from 1809 to 1819.

Black-river. Samuel Harker (or Hareour) reached manhood; laboring at his trade; a man of great bodily vigor; graduated, at Nassau Hill, in 17—; taken up by the New Brunswick Presbytery, on the sixth of December, 1749; was licensed on the sixth of November, 1751. Roxbury and Hardwick asked for him, on the fifth of June, 1752; was ordained, on the thirty-first of October, 1752, Pastor of Roxbury or Black-river; charged with heresy, in October, 1757; and admonished by the Synod; left his congregation; and went with the Army, as Captain. He printed a book; was called up by the Synod, in May, 1763; and was suspended, on the sixth of June, 1763, for teaching that God promises salvation to the efforts of unregenerate men. In August, the congregation, in confusion, wrote to Doctor Rogers, to call a meeting of Synod; but the New Brunswick Presbytery preferred to send the Rev. Benjamin Hait, Charles Mc Knight, and Samuel Kennedy, to confer with the people. The West Branch of Black-river asked for supplies. Harker published an *Appeal to the Christian World* John Blair replied. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia defended. Harker married Rachel Lovel, of Oyster-bay, Long Island, of a French Protestant family. One of his daughters married Judge John Cleves Symmes; and was the mother of Mrs. Harrison, wife of General Harrison. Another daughter married Doctor Caldwell, of Lamington, and was the mother of Rev. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University of North Carolina. This territory appears to have been transferred, informally, to the New York Presbytery. Roxbury asked for Bradford, on the twentieth of June, 1775; and he was ordained, at Black-river and Sucasunna, on the thirteenth of July, 1775.

William Woodhull graduated at Nassau Hall, in 1764; was licensed by the Suffolk Presbytery, in 1768; and was ordained by the New York Presbytery, in 1770. Ill health led him, in 1783, to relinquish the ministry and take a civil office. He resided at Roxbury, and desired to have leave to demit his office; but his request was not granted till 1792.

Rockaway and Hardystone were mentioned by the New York Presbytery, in March, 1777; and Joline served them for a year.

Lemuel Fordham was taken up by the New York Presbytery, on the eighteenth of October, 1779; licensed on the second of May, 1780. Sucasun-

na asked for him; Roxbury and Sucasunna called him, on the seventeenth of November, 1786; he was ordained on the fourth of December, 1787; reported, in 1803, as residing at Black-river; and in 1830, as at Chester.

Parsippany. John Darbee, Derbee, Dorbee, graduated at Yale, in 1748; was licensed, by the Suffolk Presbytery, in April, 1749; buried his wife, at East Hampton, in 1757; was ordained, by the Suffolk Presbytery, on the tenth of November, 1757; settled at Connecticut Towns, in 1758, and staid two years. He removed, after, to Parsippany; withdrew from the New York Presbytery, in 1773; received, from Dartmouth, the degree of M. D.; published a Sermon on the death of his sister, Mrs. Gardiner, of Long Island.

Joseph Grover graduated at Dartmouth, in 1773; received from New England, by the New York Presbytery, in 1774; was ordained, at Parsippany, in 1775; withdrew in May, 1779; was a Trustee in Morris-county Society; and removed to Western New York, before 1800.

The Morris-county Society sent out a Missionary, on the thirtieth of October, 1804; and directed him to begin at Marbletown; go to Susquehannah; to Cinge; to Mr. Grover's; to Genissee; and return.

Rev. J. F. Tittle:

Dear Bro.: If these brief hints, hastily put down, will serve your purpose, in any degree, I shall be very glad. I might add that the Rev. John Carmichael, of Brandywine, Penn., a man of great importance in our Revolutionary struggles, was converted while residing with his parents at Hanover, under the preaching of Mr. Green.

Very Truly,
R. Webster.

III.

MR. WEBSTER'S LETTERS.

Mauch Chunk Pa Apr 5th 1854

Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle

Dear Sir: I thank you for your letter– Mr Williamson is entirely welcome to any aid I can give him–

The Records of New York Presbytery begin in 1772—138 pages having been cut out. The original is held by Newark Presbytery. I made a copy for New York Presbytery, and my excellent friend Rev. O. M. Johnson is doing the same for his Presbytery. The Rev. Dr. N. S, Prime has prepared long time ago a history of Morris Co. Presbytery. Dr. Engles declined to publish it in the *Presbyterian* because it was made up of dry documents to a great extent. He will cheerfully contribute it if requested, he probably knows (I do not) if the records exist. Newark Presbytery has the records of the Morris Co. Society for promoting learning and Religion—and has its funds also and Corporate Seal. This was an invention of Mr. Green. I have a long letter from him to Bellamy, detailing his plan for filling up the ranks of the ministry quickly, characteristic and ultra. Among those raised up and sent out on his plan, was Seth Wells, long time head of the Shakers.

Morris Co Presbytery increased till there were West Chester Co P'by and I think the Northern Associated P'by. Dr. Porter of Catskill belonged to one of them. Dr. Weeks visited him soon after he joined our church—and was importuned by him to use his influence in inducing the other ministers and churches to follow his example. Mr. Green's reasons for leaving New York P'by are on the Records. He was accompanied by his son-in-law Ebenezer Bradford, by Mr. Grover, Amre Lewis, of Warwick Orange Co. N. Y. Mr. Bradford was ordained *sine titulo*, to labour at Roxbury and then settled at South Hanover & then at Bethel in Danbury Ct. His history is given in the *History of Danbury*. I presume you have the records of the Synod published by our Board of Publication and the minutes of Gen Assembly in one volume to 1820.

Among my memoranda I find James Tuttle, graduated at Nassau Hall 1764, licensed by New York P'by 1767, ordained by New York P'by April 1768, first pastor of Rockaway and Parsippany—withdrew from the P'by, 1769. Died Dec. 25th 1770 (as reported by P'by to Synod.

The first meeting house is said to have been built at Rockaway in 1752. Conrad Worts a Dutch youth was taken under care by New Brunswick P'by Sept 3 1751. He had had a difficulty with the Dutch Reformed Coetus. May 27, 1752, Rockaway, a High Dutch congregation asked for him he had preached for them, and the Synod of New York appointed a Committee to inquire of the Dutch ministers in New York, if the congregation were under their jurisdiction. The Committee did nothing—the Synod left it to N. B. P'by and they ordained him July 5th 1752 and he was dismissed from the P'by Oct 21 1761, because he could be more useful in another connection. This Rockaway was in Lebanon township.

When Mr. James Tuttle was reported as ordained Mr Moses Tuttle is said to have withdrawn. The latter you perhaps know was born in New Haven and married Jonathan Edwards's sister, Martha. He graduated at Yale 1745 was ordained in 1747 first minister in Granville Mass, staid six years, Came into New Castle P'by in 1755, & settled in the frontiers of Pennsylvania probably in Cumberland Co, was driven off by the Indians & settled in Delaware before 1758, in 1763, desired to return to his former field &

being in extreme poverty was aided by our Corporation for the Relief of Distressed Ministers—met with N. B. P'by in 1776, joined N. Y. P'by and withdrew from them in 1768 or 9 and died on Long Island Apr 1771. His daughter was living a year or two [*since*] and furnished the particulars of her father, which will appear in a forthcoming History of the Edwards family. Having answered all your questions, let me add, that Morgan Edwards *Hist. of the Baptists in New Jersey* is in your State Hist. Society Library & is worth consulting on your County. His son Joshua lately deceased lived many years at Morristown. He had Rev. Barnabas King in great reverence. He said that in public prayer, he seemed under the especial guidance of the Spirit, more particularly on days of Fasting. He said Fast Day Sermons unsettled both Dr. Richards & Dr. Fisher politics were so vehement that sermons and prayers were watched for an unwise word.

Be sure I esteem it no intrusion to receive a request like yours. I have all the dates of N. Bk P'by, New Castle, Philadelphia & Donegal of ordination &c with biographies of all our ministers to 1758 & materials to include all ordained before 1787, e. g. Nutman of Hanover, Johnes of Morris Town, Byram of Mendham (by the bye Rocksiticus dates back as far as May 1738), Thomas Lewis of Mendham, Samuel Harker of Roxbury, Black River & Hardwick (grandfather of Jas Caldwell, Pres. of Unit'y of North Carolina, Bradford of Roxbury, Black River & Sucasunna [*David* *] Moses Baldwin, graduated N. H. [*Nassau Hall*] 1757, ordained by Suffolk P'by 1759, was at Rockaway from 1784 to 1792, was installed Apr. 1784— my impression is that the church was then independent or in Morris Co P'by, for I do not remember any thing concerning him in New York records or those of the Synod— was subsequently settled at Palmer & Kingston Mass. said to have been the best scholar in his class. I think his funeral sermon was published & is in Dr. Sprague's collection at Princeton Seminary. Darby in 1768 at Parsippany, ordained at the age of 49, Joseph Grover of Parsippany Fordham, Joline preached from March 1777 for twelve months, but declined the call— at Mendham for 12 or 15 years, Peppard of Mendham Wm Woodhull of Roxbury. These are roughly thrown together in hopes they may be of service. Very Truly,

RICHARD WEBSTER.

II.

MAUCH CHUNK PA June 10th 1854

REV. & DEAR SIR

I thank you for the three pamphlets; I have sent to Mr. Whitehead a copy of a letter from Dr Hopkins detailing the unsuccessful attack under Abercrombie on Ticonderoga, to show that it is not improbable the tradition may be true concerning Gen Wines I will gladly do as you desire— & the more gladly because my dear and valued brother Wallace is striving to stir up unkind feelings in his Quarterly. But it would be better if you could come here & spend a day or two— & look over my manuscript book; it is at your service & you would know what you need better than I can. Send me the names of the churches in Morris Co, or your townships—else I may not include some.

Will you inform Mr. Stoutenburg that neither Mr Nutman or Mr Green was professedly Congregationalist—and that I know of no Congregational Association in Morris Co. The only independent Church I ever heard of there was at Chester—a *Separate*—I have heard many things of Mr. Overton, that "great Election "Divine" his plans of sermons, &c. Mr. Hubbel was at Wes field, not at Hanover or Whippany.* Mr. Green was an Independent, and taught his people that no appeal could be from a decision of a church of Jesus Christ—that a person unjustly excommunicated must wait for redress till the coming of the Judge of all. Somebody at Hanover complained to New York Presbytery of Abraham Kitchel, for uttering these sentiments, they were common in Hanover, but P'by waived the matter. If you should come this month I could show you the Bellamy letters of much interest to a Jerseyman & a Presbyterian, If after that I am not at home my papers will be placed so that you can see all you wish Very Truly

RICHARD WEBSTER—

If the Committee on Teachers will address the Rev R. E. Stevenson, Wyoming Pa he will furnish an account of his father a teacher & elder at Morristown a man of worth & great usefulness.

III.

MAUNCHUNK Jan 22, 1855

REV AND DEAR BRO—

On returning after preaching five evenings & visiting the families in one of our small congregations—I found your note I will thank you for a copy of the Proposals—or if you can send the original, I will copy it into our 2d volume of "Collec-

* It was David Baldwin who was at Rockaway. He was ordained at Chester, about 1779, by Morris-county Presbytery.—J. F. T.

* The Rev. Mr. Hubbell was settled at Whippany; owned property there; and was burned out. He divided his time between Whippany, in Morris-county, and Westfield, in Essex-county. He was a graduate of Yale College; and his service at Whippany continued from some time in 1727 to 1730. So far as I can learn, he was the first Presbyterian Minister in Morris-county.—J. F. T.

"tions" already enriched with an unpublished sermon of Davies—

The facilities for education, I do not know & I know nothing especially of Morris Co. settlers. I may ask was not the Ford family from Monmouth? deseended from John Ford one of the Presbyterians given to Pilloekee? Cleverly was a graduate of Harvard 1715 & died in 1776 at advaneed age– having outlived his property. I cannot turn to the date. I see Thomas Cleverly marked as dying June 9th 1775—but the graduates of Harvard are John & Joseph I will be greatly obliged to your brother for a copy of his sermon—Perhaps the following memorandum may serve him from Suffolk Presbytery records—(In the newspaper notiee of Cleverly, it is said "he was 81 & a "man greatly beloved.") "April 6th 1750—Mr "Nathaniel Greenman was dismissed to accept a "eall to the New Society in South Hanover N.J." He was "the young man educated by the "eharitable expenses of Brainerd licensed by Suffolk P'by Oct 3d 1748 was in S. Hanover in 1754, ordained & settled in Pilesgrove now Pittsgrove N J– & died in advanee life. I ean give your brother all the faets in the ease. So of Dr Derby of Parsippany. What did T Johnes do, from his graduating till he eame to M. Town. Nutman died Sept 1, 1751, aged 48. Nutman was a native of Newark, his father James was from Seotland married the daughter of Rev John Prudden, Dr Alden says, "he was "placed at the head of his elass on Yale Cata- "logue because he was of a high family—after- "wards they ranked alphabetieally" Leaving Hanover or Whippany he taught in Newark, Jonathan Sarjeant married one of his daughters & her daughter was the wife of Rev Dr John Eniry of Philadelphia. In your notice of Father Carpenter I was reminded that in the session book of Stroudsburg it is recorded by the first minister Rev Mr Field that the church was formed after a revival that originated in a visit of that man of God & his wife there in a summer

* * * * *

V.—THE EARLY BAPTISTS, IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.—Continued.

By Revs. A. Hosmer and J. Lawton.

Second session of the Otsego Association, holden at Burlington, September 7th and 8th, 1796.

ONE is our God who reigns above,
And one our Saviour whom we love;
One is the faith, the spirit one
That brings us round Jehovah's throne;
One hope we have, one r
To our eternal shining h
One is our guide, and or
That leads to shining fie
And one the song of pra
To our eternal Glorious

Wednesday, September 7th Association met. Introdueto Joel Butler, from St. John from the churches read and eount taken:

Dismissed	3	Ad
Exeluded	6	Din
Died	2	
Diminished	11	Incr

Four churehes and four mi to the Association this year

Narrative of the churches
[1796.]

FRANKL

IN the month of August tion began in this town wh January, 1793, when on the they received fellowship as order. Their number wa inereased greatly in numb year after they reeeived f more were eonverted in a ju who joined the Presbyteri church lies southwesterly fr tant about fifty miles.

AURELIU

SOME time in the latter of 1795, Eld'r David Irish e and preaehed to the peop his blessing, so that on the the same year, ten persons e relation. About this time pour out his spirit in eonv ing sinners in a most gl stout hearted were broken converts were shouting hos David, the hearts of God's to rejoiee, and join the b little eottages beeame pray wilderness that not long howling desert, where sav prey were wont to roam, living water.—This churel Springfield, distant about

FIRST LITCH

In September 1794, a professors met in eonferen ters relating to Christ's mil feeling it a matter of imp

conferences. On the 15th of
embodied as a church, the
ld and Palatine gave them
number was seven. Soon
ured out his spirit in a re-
sinners were awakened and
re brought to the knowledge
at twenty were added to the
everal who united with the
ciety in this place. In 1799
gain visited by the spirit of
nanner, and twelve were add-
in the space of four months.
est from Springfield, distant

SCIPIO.

ir account of the rise of this
r is referred to their letter to
or 1796. This church lies
ringfield, distant about one
iles.

From the Churches, for 1796.

Destitute of a pastor, desire
our Brethren in the minis-
small, our progress slow, we
our members by death the

We remain stedfast in the
g to keep the unity of the
ls of peace. We are not ig-
levices of satan: but yet,
ires to sift Christ's followers
eve the Saviour prayeth for
we can sing of mercy and

comfortable circumstances
ng out his spirit."

"We have great reason, in
ment, to bless the Lord for
o us. At present it is not
nths past, not many conver-
ng us, but brotherly love
enjoy peace among our-
no pastor."

bears to be a night season
ough much tribulation we
y; nevertheless we rejoice
ong us a general desire to

emain stedfast in the doc-
the Gospel. The Lord hath
spirit of love and union the
additions have been made

It gives us pleasure to see
hath planted churches, and
"gives the sweet breathing of his holy spirit
"to revive the heart of his children."

Otego. "We wish to continue our union
"with the churches; desiring that they may
"be enabled to contend earnestly for the faith.
"We enjoy a comfortable union, endeavoring to
"withstand the wiles of the adversary, believ-
"ing that we shall reap if we faint not."

Charlestown. "We retain the same senti-
"ments in divine things as when we last
"addressed you: We have to lament that cold-
"ness too much prevails among us at present.
"A small addition has been made to our num-
"ber the year past. We are feeble, and have
"many trials to pass through. Brethren pray
"for us, that we may have grace and wisdom
"given us to walk as becoming those professing
"godliness."

Scipio. "The great Captain of our Salva-
"tion, from motives originating in himself, has
"seen fit, not only in the government of provi-
"dence to cause this land which not long since
"was a waste howling desert, inhabited only
"by untutored savages and beasts of prey, to
"be peopled with civilized beings; but he is
"now spreading the knowledge of divine
"truths among us: God has in a glorious man-
"ner within a few months poured out his spirit
"here; our frolicking chambers have become
"praying houses, and our young people in
"some of these parts ars now running together
"to bless and praise God's holy name. About
"fifteen months ago a few Baptist professors
"from different churches, residing in this
"town met in conference to form an acquaint-
"ance and obtain fellowship with each other.
"We continued our conferences until the Octo-
"ber following when we sent for a council, and
"obtained the help of two Elders and some
"Brethren who gave them fellowship as a
"church in gospel order. We have had con-
"siderable additions since."

Second Otsego. "We rejoice that the Lord
"reigns and that his gracious
"providence is over all his works, and that he
"takes peculiar care of his people who are the
"purchase of the blood of Jesus, and for his
"own Glory's sake nourishes, supports com-
"forts and cherishes, all who put their trust in
"him; and though he is pleased to lead his
"people through great tribulation; yet his rod
"and his staff shall comfort them, and their
"robes shall be made white in the blood of
"the Lamb. Though we have often to mourn
"here, we hope to rejoice hereafter. We trust
"the Lord is with us, and we believe he will
"conduct us through our trials and bring us at
"last to Glory."

Third session of the Otsego Association, holden at Fairfield on the first Wednesday in September 1797.

Wednesday, September 6th, 10 o'clock, A. M. Association met. Introductory sermon from John xv, 16, by Eld'r James Bacon. Letters from the churches were read and the following account of the state of the churches was taken:

Dismissed	55	Added	358
Exeluded	11	Diminished	71
Died	5		
	—	Increase	287
	71		

For the circular letters the reader is referred to the printed minutes for each year.

Eight churches and three ministers were added to the association at this session. It was a very comfortable time. The people of God rejoiced in the flourishing of the Redeemer's kingdom, in this wilderness.

Accounts of the churches received into fellowship at this time.

SECOND LITCHFIELD.

November 10th 1796, met at the house of Aaron Peabody to converse on religious subjects, when several told their experience. They had several meetings after this, until Feb. 7th 1797 when they met, agreed upon articles of faith and covenant and voted to send for a council to inspect their doings.

Accordingly a council, consisting of the churches in Fairfield Palatine, 2d in Burlington, and the first in Litchfield, convened March 10th, 1797 at the house of B'r Cole, in Litchfield: when after inspecting their articles and covenant they unanimously gave them fellowship as a church in sister relation; their number was fifteen. This church lies westerly from Springfield distant about twenty-miles.

KORTRIGHT.

IN May, 1792, Warner Lake and his wife, who were members of Elder Gray's church, of Great-Barrington, moved their family to Kortright patent. They soon set up a religious meeting.

IN the spring of the year 1793, there appeared a considerable attention among the few scattered inhabitants. In July, Elder Gray by their request visited them, and baptized seven. Three more members from Elder Gray's church had lately come into the place. At this time they entered into covenant and on the 9th of July, 1793 Elder Gray gave them fellowship as a church: their number was thirteen. About this time B'r Lake began to speak to them in a doctrinal way. In the summer of 1794 the church called B'r Lake to ordination. October 30, 1794, the church in Grea
the church in Coeymans met i
purpose of ordaining B'r Lak
enquired into matters whicl
they proceeded on the follo
him apart by the imposition
was done in the following ma
performed the first prayer, an
1 Cor. iv. 1. 2. Eld. Mudge p
tion prayer and gave the ch
gave the right hand of fellow
mer past there was something
ten or twelve were baptized.
ordination a reformation beg
into Harpersfield, and about tw
to the church.

In 1797 another small rev
and sixteen were added to th
church lies southeasterly from
tant about 40 miles.

PARIS.

ABOUT the 20th of March
man moved his family into Pa
ately set up a religious meet
beginning of May the same y
with baptist professors met i
the purpose of forming an acq

About the 18th of Decemb
Elder Eastman being gone a
Butler came into the place,
fervent sermon which was acc
divine blessing; a considerab
place and sixteen souls were hop

March the 9th, 1797 they met
together to watch over one an
of brothers.

May 30th agreed to call a co
ing their order.

July 6th, 1797, a council
David Wood's house in Paris,
churches in Whitestown, 1st
field Palatine, Petersburg, 2d
Schuyler. The council, after
into their circumstances and
articles gave them fellowship.
was twenty-seven. This churcl
from Springfield, distant about

NORTH CHURCH BUR

In June, 1795, Elder Ashbe
into Burlington and began to i
second church in that town.
lowing he joined with the chur
in full communion, but never
as the pastor of said church
part of the time with a congre
in the north part of the tow
was the first in that part of t
up and maintained religious

February 1797 he requested
etter of dismission from the
d society finding that he was
the church requested him to
with them, and a number of
having moved into the vicin-
upon that meeting, he agreed

Eld. Hosmer, with the above
sts met in conference, and the
on was proposed: "Is it ex-
o attempt to unite in covenant
ch?" Answered in the affirm-
ons who had been baptized
d not related their experience,
n the general principles of the
nd a happy agreement.
97, they again met and agreed
rith and a covenant, and voted
selves in future as a church of
kewise agreed to call a council
eir order. They also voted to
ner a call to the pastoral charge
o which he assented.
97, the church in Springfield,
go, 2d and 3d in Burlington
Burlington, and after examin-
order gave them fellowship as a
l order. The council likewise
vship in their calling Eld. Hos-
ral charge. Their number was
church lies southwesterly from
ant about 28 miles.

OND RICHFIELD.

ner of 1796, Eld. Roots was
of the time in the northeast
ld, in the succeeding Autumn
l to pour out his spirit on that
, the people began to attend on
quently, and a number were
rted. Several of the brethren
frequently visited and preached
ble and baptized a number. In
ferences they agreed to consider
he character of a church, they
ll a council.
1797, a council consisting of
art's Patent, 1st in Richfield
chfield churches convened and
owship as a church in gospel
umber was sixteen. From this
y joined with the association
ereased to twenty-seven. This
from Springfield, distant about

alias NEWPETERSBURG.

of December, 1795, a number of persons met in conference according to previous appointment, several persons gave a relation of their experience. August 16th, 1796, in conference Elders Bacon, Butler, Eastman and Holmes being present, a number of doctrinal propositions were discussed and agreed upon.

Oct. 27th, 1796, they agreed to send for a council. Nov. 9th, 1796, a council consisting of 1st Litchfield and Fairfield Palatine churches convened and gave them fellowship as a church in regular order. Their numbers were nine. This church lies westerly from Springfield, about forty miles distant.

WHITESTOWN.

A number of professors of the congregational denomination, in Whitestown, did, in the month of Oct. 1795, covenant together to hold up religious meetings. The February following Eld. Stephen Parsons, from Connecticut visited and baptized five of them: and in June 1796, having set apart a day for fasting and prayer entered into covenant to walk together as a church. Eld. Parsons being present on a visit assisted them to articles and covenant, gave them fellowship and administered the Lord's Supper to them the next Lord's day. Their number was seven. The September following Eld. Parsons moved to Whitestown and settled with them. This church lies northwesterly from Springfield, distant about 40 miles.

FIRST HAMILTON.

A. D. 1795 a small number of people pitched on the head waters Chenango, about 100 miles west of Albany. They soon set up a religious meeting. June 24th, 1796 they met in conference at the house of B'r Samuel Payne, and gave a relation of their experience to each other; they continued their conference by adjournments until Aug. 19th, 1796, when a council met, and after proper inquiries advised them to examine their articles which they had previously drawn, and compare them with the articles of other churches, to which result they agreed. On the 29th of September, 1796, they sent for a council which convened on the 10th of Oct. 1796, consisting of the churches in Fairfield Palatine, 2d and 3d in Burlington and 1st in Litchfield. The council after a candid inspection of their doings gave them fellowship as a church in gospel order. Their number was 12. This church is situate from springfield southwesterly, distant about forty-five miles.

We have not been able to obtain the letters for the year 1797, therefore we cannot present our readers with any extracts from them.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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I.—*TO OUR READERS,*

ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD SERIES.

Five years since, at the opening of the eleventh year of the publication of The Historical Magazine, it was our privilege to address those of you who were then "Our Readers;" and, again, at the opening of our twenty-first volume—the first of our Third Series—we are permitted, to day, to enjoy the same privilege.

Five years, meanwhile, have presented their joys and their sorrows; and each year, as it has passed away, never to return, has borne with it some of those who were our companions and our friends—fellow-laborers, very often, in the field in which we have labored,—all of them laden with the fruits of their toil, returning, their appointed work having been completed, to the rest which had been already prepared for them. Those who have been spared, in order to complete their allotted work, not yet finished, have encountered five years more of anxieties and of joys than they had then encountered; and some there are, with heads more deeply blanched than they then were, and with hands far less steady—trophies of their faithful labors, and, too often, their only rewards,—who, in the interval, have lost the elasticity of their step and the overflow of their spirits, and quietly await the order for their departure—too near, it may be, for those who are dependent on them, for guidance and support—which is, evidently, not far distant. Five years have also shaken thrones; disarranged boundaries; overthrown some of those who were, previously, high in authority; elevated some of those who were, then, low in obscurity; tested the capacity of men for self-government, as it had seldom, before, been tested; developed the resources of those partisans among whom the possession of power, no matter how acquired, is the warrant for the exercise of authority, no matter how much unauthorized by law; and, in politics and in war, set aside maxims which prevailed in better days, among better men; made giants of pigmies; and so concealed and belittled the Truth, that Falsehood has become the most attractive.

In the midst of all these changes, unaffected by any of them, The Historical Magazine occupies, comparatively unchanged, the same position which it occupied, five years ago; and it enters another era, —the third—in its history, with no new duties, no new hopes, no new prospects. What it was, five years since, it is, to-day; and what, to-day, it seeks to attain, it sought, five years ago, as earnestly and as honestly, as now. We promise, now, as we promised then, that "it will be steadily devoted, as it has "been, hitherto, to the History, Antiquities, "Biography, and Standard Literature of Ameri-"ca; and we believe we may safely say that "there will not be found in its columns, with "our knowledge and consent, any place whatev-"er, for any subject which does not seem to bear "'the guinea stamp' of historic truth and genu-"ineness, unless for exposing its character and "denouncing its author."

Nor is there any greater necessity for change in the policy which shall, hereafter, control the Magazine, than in the choice of subjects to which it shall be devoted. We said, five years since, and we say now, that "The Historical "Magazine, while it shall remain under our "control, will never recognize any pretended "necessity to remain silent on any subject which "may, properly, be discussed in its columns; "nor will it ever hesitate to follow those who "shall venture to display their authorial dexter-"ity on the slippery paths of personal or politi-"cal history." "What is known to be histori-"cally untrue, The Historical Magazine will "fearlessly expose and condemn, no matter by "whom it may have been uttered; and he will "be fearlessly exposed and denounced, therein, "no matter from whom he may have descended, "who shall seek to remove any of the landmarks "of our country's history, for the purpose of "sacrificing the truth on the altar of expedi-"ency." "With such a course marked out for "The Historical Magazine, we can confidently "appeal, for sympathy and support, to the more "earnest and honest of our countrymen, who are "neither ashamed nor afraid to follow the "truth, whithersoever she may lead them. To "the mere time-server and sycophant, to the

"historically self righteous, and to 'him who "'loveth and maketh a lie' in the name of His-"tory, this work will neither commend itself "nor prove useful; and their sympathy and "support are neither expected nor solicited."

It will be seen, from this reiteration of its time-honored principles, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has made no compromise with either Fal-chood or those who sustain her; and that it will continue to sit in judgment, hereafter—to become the *uninvited censor or umpire*, if that term shall be preferred—as it has sat, hitherto, on all matters, *opinions as well as statements*, within the range of its published objects, which have been published to the world and, thereby, made instruments for either good or evil, among men. Its judgment may not always be a correct one—it makes no claim to infallibility—but, in every case, it will be an honest and an earnest one, and unbought with either fear, favor, or affection.

It will neither mutilate nor *condense* any document which it shall consider worthy of a place in its pages, either for the purpose of saving paper and presswork, of adapting it to somebody's tastes, or of concealing somebody's shortcomings; nor will it mutilate any original contributions to its pages, by other pens than its Editor's, simply in order to make those contributions more palpable to somebody, or less decided in their tone, than their authors, themselves, either desired or intended. The Magazine's contributors will be allowed to speak for themselves, in their own language, over their own signatures; and it will not be a part of our duty to either *prune*, or *condense*, or *modify in expression*, anything which shall be accepted from any one, for publication in its pages—whatever shall be so far unfit for publication as to require such an "uninvited" and unenviable censorship, at our hand, will be either rejected, altogether, or accompanied with suitable foot-notes, exposing and condemning what we shall conceive to need correction.

In short, the Magazine will endeavor to have, hereafter, as it has had, hitherto, well-grounded and clearly-defined opinions on all matters pertaining to the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America; and those opinions, either with or without the authorities on which they shall be based, shall not be withheld whenever there shall be found a sufficient reason for the publication of them, no matter whose descendants may be thereby aggrieved or whose personal, or official, or authorial pretensions, thereby, disturbed.

Those who shall need other food than this, thus forewarned, will unquestionably seek, elsewhere, that food for babes which they cannot find in these pages: those who shall be unable, without flinching, to look the truth of history squarely in the face, quite as unquestionably, will seek, in other directions, that modified, and condensed, and pruned, and, very often, more agreeable, article, call it what you will, which they will not find in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II.—*THE MORRISTOWN GHOST.*

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH UNIVERSITY, INDIANA.

When King James's version of the Bible was made, it was the common belief, in all parts of England, that a *witch* is "a female who, by the "agency of Satan, or rather a familiar Spirit or "gnome appointed by Satan to attend on her, "performs operations beyond the powers of "humanity, in consequence of her compact with "Satan, written in her own blood, by which she "resigns herself to him, forever. Among other "advantages resulting to her, from this engage-"ment, is the power of transforming herself "into any shape she pleases, which is gener-"ally that of a hare: transporting herself "through the air on a broomstick; sailing on "the sea in a sieve; gliding through a key hole; "inflicting diseases, etc., upon mankind or cat-"tle." Doctor Kitto asserts that modern witchcraft can be traced back only to the Middle Ages. Another author states that, in 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. sought to arrest witchcraft, in which he believed, as a fact, by hissing on his inquisitors to find and punish those guilty of it. He even had the *Hammer of Witches (Malleus Maleficorum)* published, in which were specific directions for the detection and trial of such persons. In 1494, Pope Alexander VI., in 1521, Leo X., and, in 1522, Adrian VI., hurled their hottest bolts against witchcraft. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the almost universal belief was in the *fact* of there being certain such persons as those who became witches by some process like that already named. It is said that "five hundred witches were burned at Ge-"neva, in three months, about the year 1515; "that one thousand were executed in one year in "the diocese of Cours; * * * and that not less "than one hundred thousand victims must have "suffered in Germany alone." Thirty thousand were executed in England for witchcraft. "This "commerce with evil spirits," as Blackstone calls it, was commonly admitted to exist. The Church sounded the alarm; and the State, forthwith, began to exterminate those supposed to be guilty of this nefarious "commerce." Some of the most curious relics of those Middle Ages are handed down in the form of witch-trials, before the highest tribunals of England and the Continent. From the confessions which were extorted from the accused, by all kinds of horrible torture, it was gathered, and became a popula

belief, that "general assemblies of witches were "held, yearly or oftener, in which they appeared "entirely naked, and besmeared with an oint-"ment made from the bodies of unbaptized in-"fants. To these meetings, they rode, from "great distances, on broomsticks, pokers, goats, "hogs, or dogs; the devil taking the chair, in "the form of a goat. Here they did homage to "the prince of hell, and offered him sacrifices "of young children, etc., and practiced all sorts "of license, until cockerowing."

Sir Walter Scott, in his *Demonology and Witchcraft*, states the fact that, in 1722, "an "insane old woman" was burned, as a witch, the last execution of the kind in Scotland. The miserable creature "had a daughter lame both "of hands and feet—a circumstance attributed "to the witch's having been used to transform "her into a pony, and get her shod by the "devil." We often amuse ourselves by speaking of the "witch-ordeal" by which the executioner either tied together the thumbs of the suspected person or put her in a closely-tied sack, and then threw her into deep water. If she drowned, then she was not a witch: if she did not sink, then, clearly, she was a witch, to be put to death in some other way. And yet this ordeal indicated how witchcraft had possessed the convictions and imagination of the popular masses. What a hold it must have gained, is inferable from the superstition of Blackstone and Samuel Johnson. "The thing itself"—witchcraft—says Blackstone, "is a truth to which "every nation in the world hath, in its turn, "borne testimony, either by examples, seemingly "well attested, or by prohibitory laws, which, "at least, suppose the possibility of a commerce "with evil spirits." How the great Johnson placed his shoes, at night, and his unwillingness to put the left foot, (if I do not forget) first across the threshold, are well known.

Mr. Bancroft shrewdly apologizes for the superstition prevalent in this country, and which broke out, notably, in Salem, by saying, "the "belief in witchcraft had fastened itself on the "elements of religious faith, and become deeply "branded into the common mind. Do not de-"spise the credulity. The people did not rally "to the error: they accepted the superstition "only because it had not yet been disengaged "from religion." In Boston, Salem, and many other places, was found many a "scandalous old "hag * * * thought to be crazed in her intel-"lectuals." It became a popular creed, that "there is both a God, and a devil, and *witch-craft*," that "most nefarious high treason "against the Majesty on high." And what the credulous Mather said, the saintly Richard Baxter endorsed. There is scarcely any part of human history so humiliating to recall as this of the Salem witchcraft, at the close of the seventeenth century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the witch-murders ceased; but, in the old world and the new, the superstition held the popular imagination in bondage. It was an easier task to drive it from the head than from the imagination of mankind. This was seen in the almost numberless "signs" which people had, for the common occurrences of life. Sensible men shuddered to find themselves "looking at the new-moon over "the left shoulder," and experienced a sense of relief to find themselves taking their first look over the right shoulder. Friday was "the un-"lucky day;" potatoes, radishes, and such roots, planted in "the new of the moon," would "run to top;" and pork and beef, butchered "in the old of the moon would shrink in the "pot." The time to wean a baby or a pig was laid down in this time-table of superstition; and, to this day, there are thousands who would as soon deny the authenticity of the Bible as neglect those rules which popular superstition has maintained so long. Besides this, every community had "its haunted house" and its places where spectres dire or sheeted ghosts had been seen.

Long after the "witch-ordeal" and the trials for witchcraft had ceased, there were many people who believed in witchcraft as firmly as in their own existence. It is true, they never saw a loaded wagon bewitched into immoveability between the bar-posts neither of which it touched; nor had they ever seen a demon, in obedience to some notorious witch, "invisibly entering the "house and tearing down part of it." They had never seen the witch riding on a broomstick or poker, or engaging in the "devil's dance;" nor, indeed, anything appealing to any outward sense. But thousands heard witch-stories related at the ample kitchen fire-place, by the slaves, who, as a class, did not a little to keep the people sound in the belief in witches. People now are living, not fifty years old, who can remember how Sambo and Dinah conjured up hobgoblins and witches in their thrilling stories, until their hearers started at every shaking leaf, and feared to look over their shoulder lest they should see something. Age became garrulous, as it told a thousand tales about witch and ghost; and time was, not a hundred years ago, when around many an ample fire-place, with its cheerful warmth and glow, people talked of these things, over their apples and cider, with evident sincerity. It was a very general fact, belonging to every section of this country; and it throws light on what I am now to relate.

Who has not heard of "The Morristown "Ghost"? Eighty-four years ago—1788—this famous character excited more notice in New

Jersey than the putting the new *Constitution* in motion. Some people were ashamed to have their credulity exposed; others were enraged to find themselves robbed of cash, by the ghost; and others were beginning loud explosions of laughter, which one generation after another takes up and transmits.

"The Morristown Ghost" exhibited himself to a few select mortals, in various places and circumstances, during the years 1788 and 1789. Great events then happened together. The immortal *Constitution* of these United States was published, in 1788; and the immortal Morristown Ghost came into being, the same memorable year. The immortal Washington, in the Spring of 1789, became our first President; and, whilst he was entering on his high sphere, the immortal Ghost of Morristown was gliding about, on stilts; shaking horse-shoes around the houses of people, in dark nights; occasionally thumping the weather-boards, in a ghostly way; and performing many other ghostly deeds.

A word about my authorities. The bursting of the bubble covered with confusion the very respectable persons duped by the Ghost, who was arrested and imprisoned, but let out, as is said, in order that he might clear the country. About two years afterward, a pamphlet was published, having, on the outside cover, the title printed, *The Morristown Ghost*. The inner title page is as follows: *An account of the Beginning, Transactions, and Discovery of Ransford Rogers, who seduced many by pretended Hobgoblins and Apparitions, and thereby extorted Money from their pockets. In the County of Morris and State of New Jersey, in the year 1788. Printed for every Purchaser—1792.* Who wrote and who published this pamphlet cannot now be certainly ascertained. Some supposed that Rogers himself wrote it, in order to increase his revenues and also to punish the Morristown people for their treatment of him. From the resemblance of the type and paper to that used in the *New Jersey Journal*, of that date, I suspect the pamphlet was printed by Sheppard Kollock, of Elizabethtown. The production was said to be very offensive, in Morristown and vicinity; and that those involved in the transactions, as far as they could, bought up and destroyed all the copies they could learn of. Whether this tradition is true or not, I have inquired of many people, in Morris-county, for that old pamphlet; but, thus far, in vain. Fortunately, I found a copy, nearly perfect, in the hands of a Newark antiquary, Samuel H. Conger, Esq. The title-page I have already quoted.

In 1826, appeared *The Wonderful History of the Morristown Ghost; thoroughly and carefully revised. By David Young. Newark: Published by Benjamin Olds, for the author. J. C. Totten, Printer.* This was "David Young, "Philom," whose name figured so conspicuously on the title-pages of half the almanacs printed in this country, thirty years ago. By accident, he found a copy of the old pamphlet, in Elizabethtown; and he thus speaks of his reasons for revising it: "The very inaccurate and apparently "headlong manner in which it was executed "rendered a revision highly necessary. * * * "Every reader may rest assured that, if the truth "of this narration had been doubtful, I should "have taken no pains to rescue it from oblivion." The additions made by Mr. Young are very slight; but he has omitted some things, and touched up the grammar and rhetoric of his original.

In addition to these printed authorities, some, very recently, were living, who remember the scenes; and, a few years ago, the number of these was quite large. From them, I have learned many curious facts which have never been published. In reference to the general condition of society, at that time, I may quote from a letter written by the late Rev. Peter Kanouse, who was old enough to give testimony, as an eye-witness. He refers to that region, familiarly known, in Morris-county, as "Rockaway Valley." To use his words, "We have rambled over this "ancient field as far back as I dare venture, "when witches and hobgoblins held their pow-"wows in the Old Indian burying-ground, just "as you go down to the Beaver-brook, on the "East side, as you approach Dixon's dwelling, in "Rockaway-valley. And, when the witches "burnt down Old Charlotteburg Iron Works, I "heard a lady say they metamorphosed her "aunt into a horse, and, after riding her to the "place of rendezvous, tied her to a tree, where "she witnessed the bonfire and their devil-dance! "Will-o-the-wisp was a spook, often seen, by the "timid ones, along the Rockaway-river, from the "Owl-kill up to Dover, and farther, too. My "early school-mates and myself had many a "frightful race past the graves of old Yommer "and Pero, two Africans, who knew all the arts "of fetichism. Then, elf-shooting was often "witnessed—for instance, a cow shot through, "from side to side, with a ball of hair, without "wounding the skin! It was an age of necro-"mancy and heathenish superstition, when men "were prepared to be duped by such impostors "as 'the Morristown Ghost.' Witchcraft and "fortune-telling were in vogue, * * * and "some obscure, yet honest, ignorant, kind-"hearted matron, bowed with age and face fur-"rowed over with years, was regarded with "terror, and her oracles esteemed as if uttered "by a very Pythoness! Spooks and Will-o-the-"wisps were often seen, and were frequently "made the sober theme of the domestic circle,

"when seated before the good old-fashioned "fire, on a cold wintry night. There were some "astrologers, and, now and then, one who used "divination, and could detect rogues and "thieves, and find stolen property. The won-"derful old Almanac, with the waterman or "water-bearer, surrounded by the twelve signs, "was full of curious cuts and was oftener read "than the Bible."

There was also a very general popular ignorance. Schools were few; and they were usually taught by strolling itinerants, who were not of a kind to correct the popular superstitions of the times. Indeed, they and the *slaves* were a sort of medium through which the follies of superstition were communicated from one place to another. Most of the early teachers, in Morris-county, were from New England and Ireland; and facts are still remembered, which show that many of them were either superstitious or artful, since they did not a little to fasten the yoke of bondage on all within their reach. Many of the slaves were native Africans; and, in their broken but expressive gibberish, they entailed, on the children, their creed in spooks and hobgoblins, as they learned it, in Africa. Most of the wealthy families, in Morris-county, had slaves, as a respectable appendage; and many of these were very cunning. Even now, I seem to hear old Juliet, or Tom, or Sam, or Dinah, in the old Dutch kitchen, dimly illuminated by the fire, swaying backward and forward, as if under some mysterious spell, whilst they told about a certain house in which a pedlar had been murdered for his money; and how his unhappy ghost prowls about the scenes where ended his mortal life; and how, in such a place, an apparition glided across the road, noiselessly as a moving vapor, and disappeared in a certain spot, where, tradition says, a lover was killed by a jealous rival; and how, in such a house, and in such a room, the attenuated, misty form of a beautiful girl has been seen, with hands clasped on her snowy breast, revisiting the place in which jealousy extinguished her life, on her bridal night. In fact, the negroes who lived in the kitchens of the people in this region, eighty and a hundred years ago, were the most ingenious tellers of ghost and witch stories that could be found; and they did a great deal to bring multitudes into a semi-belief in the absurdities of the times. If the whites held them in bondage, slaves as they were, they did not a little to enthrall their masters with chains harder to break than those which they themselves wore.

There was prevalent, in this region—and, no doubt, elsewhere—a class of ghostly stories which pointed to hid treasures, whose vastness was exaggerated by the imagination of the superstitious, and whose hiding-places were guarded by sleepless and mighty demons. In some cases—so the story ran—these treasures were buried securely; and some poor souls were cruelly murdered and buried, in the same place, in order that their ghosts might guard the valuable deposit. To gain these treasures, thus secured, it was necessary to find the hiding-places, and then, either put the ghostly sentinels off their guard, or, in some way, propitiate their favor.

During the War of Independence, there was a very considerable class, in New Jersey, who had no faith in the success of the American arms, and no intention to assume a hostile attitude against the Mother Country. Many of these men were reported to be rich; but, until such time as the rebellion should be crushed, such found it necessary to secrete their money. Besides this class, there was another, who sought to pursue a safe course, for themselves, in either event, the triumph or the defeat of the Rebellion. Some such, as is well known, were seemingly identified with the patriots and yet carried about with them the hateful "British protection." Some of this class were rich; and, to save their riches, they pursued this unmanly course. They, too, as was said, buried their treasures, in order to safe-keeping against the time of peace. Peace at last came; but it did not come in the way the Tories expected it. Many of them, having taken an active part with the enemy, were expatriated and their estates confiscated. I have before me a copy of an advertisement made by "Alexander Carmichael and Aaron Kitchel, "Commissioners," offering for sale "the houses, "lands, and leases for life, and all the real "estate that belongs to" "Thomas Millidge, Ste-"phen Skinner, John Troop, John Steward, "Ezekiel Beach, Joseph Conliff, John Thorn-"born, Asher Dunham, Richard Bowlsby, John "Bowlsby, Edward Bowlsby, Philip van Cort-"land, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob Demarest, Isaac "Hornbeck, William Howard, and Lawrence "Buskerk." This was in 1779. The newspapers of the day contain many similar advertisements of confiscated estates, for sale, in Morris and other Counties of New Jersey; and such was the feeling against these men, that their lives would not have entirely been safe, had they ventured back after the War.

It was a common opinion that men of this class had hid their money in *Schooley's-mountain*, a range of highlands which many have crossed, in going by the Morris and Essex Railroad, between Dover and Stanhope. Since the days of the ghost, Schooley's-mountain has become a favorite watering-place. Where, in that mountain-range, the treasure was hid, no one knew; only it was believed to be—somewhere. Gradually, popular superstition grafted this opinion on the old stock, which was the opinion that im-

mense buried treasures were guarded by mighty spirits. As I have heard aged people say, these buried and ghostly-guarded treasures, in Schooley's-mountain, formed the theme of many a conversation around the cheery firesides of Morris-county; and, no doubt, the hard cider and pure apple-jack, which belonged to the refinements of social life, in that day, did not a little to quicken the imaginations and the desires of the conversers, themselves.

Such was the strange tradition which was believed, by not a few people, in Morris county; and these facts show the point, in a slightly mischievous paragraph in the original edition of *The Morristown Ghost delineated*. "It is very conspicuous," says the writer, "that many of the "people, in that County, are much attached to "machinations and will spend much time in investigating curiosities. I don't say whether "such a turn of mind is to be imputed to indigence or *owing to the operation of the climate!* "this I submit to the candor of every person "to determine within himself. It is obvious, to "all who are acquainted with the County of "Morris, that the phenomena and capricious "notions of witchcraft have engaged the attention "of many of its inhabitants, for a number of "years; and the existence of witches is adopted "by the generality of the people." The author then proceeds to relate several amusing facts, to show the truth of his assertion; for instance, he was told "that an old lady was churning; "and, being much fatigued and unable to obtain "butter, she, at last, concluded that the witches "were in the churn, and immediately had recourse to experiments, which were that of "heating several horse-shoes and putting them "into the churn, alternately—she burnt the "devil out and immediately obtained butter!"

To this funny thing, let me add another, belonging to the same period, which I had from the lips of a very intelligent man who described what he saw. When a young man, he was, one cold day, at the house of Deacon ———, in the vicinity of Morristown. The Deacon's wife was churning; but the butter would not come. "The witches are busy," said the good man: "bring me the iron wedge!" He put that useful instrument into the fire and, having heated it, thoroughly, he told him to take off the churn-lid, and he would fix the witches. In went the hot wedge, causing the refractory cream to boil and bubble, furiously. "That will bring her "out," said the old man, complacently. Hardly had this ceremony been finished, when his own niece, a girl of sixteen, came in; and the Deacon addressed her, in a very stern manner: "I thought "I would bring you out, quick! You have "taken up the trade early; but I will follow "you till you have got enough of it! I guess "you have got the mark of the hot wedge on "you. I warrant you have!" The poor girl was greatly frightened: and her aunt took her out of the sight of her indignant kinsman. As soon as she left the room, the Deacon said to my informant: "The wedge did the thing for her; "and if you could only examine, you would "find where it burnt her!"

At this point, I may relate a fact which I had from another informant, still living. Joseph Rogers, (a brother of Ransford Rogers, the hero of the "Morristown Ghost") married the sister of one, "Dan Howard," in after days, a noted pauper, more dreaded by children than any hob-goblin. Howard's father lived at Longwood, a secluded place, some five miles North-west from Rockaway. Like most people of their class, the whole family were very superstitious. One afternoon, toward sundown, Dan's mother told him to go and bring the cow. Knowing that his father and brother would be coming home, about dark, Dan took a bed-sheet under his arm, and, on reaching a lonely place in the road, he wrapt the sheet about him, and hid himself in a large hollow tree. When the old man and his son came opposite him, Dan gave a solemn groan, to arrest attention, which it did, effectually. Then he moved, slowly, out of his hiding-place. No sooner did they see the spectre than both gave a scream of terror, and ran for the house. Dan now wanted to stop the fun; and he accordingly gave chase, the white sheet fluttering and flying in the most spectral manner. He ran and screamed to his father, to stop; but this only added to the fright of the fugitives. After an exciting race, they reached home; and the old man fell, swooning, in at his own door, because he had seen and had been chased by a ghost! Dan made a clean breast of his share in the matter; and yet it showed what a grip this ghost-belief had on the convictions and imaginations of multitudes.

Not long since, the late Jacob Losey told me that, long after "The Morristown Ghost" was exposed, one of the principal actors in that affair was building a dam for the Dover Iron Works; and that, whilst thus engaged, he had the mystic *horseshoes* nailed up, in such positions, as not merely kept the witches from the persons of the workmen but, also, from disturbing and retarding their work! As for his house, which was in the vicinity of Morristown, the man would as soon have thought of doing without a fire-place or a roof, as without the well-tested means of safety from the mischievous sprites in whom he was so confident a believer.

Previous to the Revolutionary War, the search after iron-mines was extensively prosecuted. Robert Erskine, at Ringwood, the Manager of the extensive iron-works of "The

"London Company," as it was generally called, and John Jacob Faesch, of Mount Hope, near Rockaway, both paid liberal rewards for the discovery of new iron deposites. As in the history of modern gold-digging, several very fortunate hits were made; and this was the means of starting many in the search. Very naturally, the belief in witchcraft led some to wish they could secure this agency in their search after mines. Two men of this kind once happened at "Smith's Clove," in the vicinity of "Suffern's," on the Erie Railroad. They were "in pursuit of a man that could "work miracles"—"a peculiar art in leger-"de-main, by which to dispel the hobgoblins "and apparitions" which had charge of the hidden mines and buried treasures. At Smith's Clove, they "accidentally found" a schoolmaster, a native of Connecticut, whose name was RANSFORD ROGERS. He was a shrewd, artful man, whose smooth face and pious carriage were calculated to deceive others. He was "very fond of giving hints of his extensive "knowledge in every art and science. * * * "He had a pretended copious knowledge in "Chemistry, and could raise or dispel good or "evil spirits." It is not known whether he practised any ghostly evolutions for the benefit of his two dupes, at the Clove, as nothing is said on the point. Convinced that he was the man they wanted, these gentlemen "solicited "him to remove to Morristown," which he did, as soon as possible. About three miles West of Morristown, on the main road to Mendham, was a school-house, in which Rogers taught, several months, greatly to the satisfaction of his patrons. He was very enterprising; and had the faculty of keeping his scholars excited in their studies. As an old gentleman told me, "Rogers frequently held exhibitions of his "school, in the barn of a Mr. Hedges. Decla-"mations and dialogues formed the entertain-"ment: and these were of a kind so rude that "it was a wonder that they did not make the "horses break their halters!" He began his "school" in August, 1788. This was a place "very suitable for one of his profession. The "people were predisposed for his reception; and "fond of marvellous exhibitions, which he was "able to perform with surprising dexterity." The secret reason of his removal to Morris-county was confided to only a few persons; but he soon found himself compelled to go forward, in the fulfillment of his promises. In order to do this, advantageously, he returned to Connecticut, ostensibly to get his family, but, really, to find an accomplice "in order to carry "on nocturnal performances, with the greatest "secrecy." This accomplice he found in another Yankee schoolmaster, named GOODENOUGH.

As you go westward, a little beyond the school-house in which Rogers taught, you see a road which leads from the main road, in a North-east direction, along the foot of the mountain. It passed through a region so lonely and out of the way, that it was called "*Soli-tude*," a name by which it is known to this day. In that region, lived a carpenter and farmer, a very worthy man, but of limited intelligence and a profound believer in witchcraft. "Solitude" was destined to be famous, as a favorite resort of "The Morristown Ghost."

As you leave Morristown, by the Bridge-street-road, northward, just in the edge of the town, a few rods East of the main-road, on the side hill, you see the residence of Colonel B—H——, who was a conspicuous character, in Morris-county, during the Revolutionary War. His father, B—— H———, and his brother, J———, were both physicians—not very learned ones, but having considerable practice. The brother resided about four miles North of Morristown, at Littleton, where a Mr. Elmer lived, until recently. Colonel H—— was an enthusiastic patriot; and fought like a lion at the second Battle of Springfield. He once had charge of the Magazine, in Morristown, and prepared cartridges for the Army. He was a tanner and currier; and, by dint of industry and economy, had secured a valuable farm, which was on either side of the road, leaving from Morristown to Speedwell. He was greatly esteemed in the community, for his generosity, public spirit, and good character; but he had this one weakness, the result rather of education and bad associations than of natural superstition—from infancy, he had been trained to believe in all the fooleries of witchcraft. In this respect, his brother J—— was like him. But for this folly, both were strong men; and, in spite of this, they wielded a strong influence in the community. These brothers were among the earliest dupes of Rogers; and the Colonel, the one first-mentioned, not merely became the Treasurer of the Association, but one of the heaviest losers by the fraud.

South-east from Morristown, was another very excellent man, one B—— L———, a Justice of the Peace, but trained to the weakness which betrayed so many worthy persons into the power of designing rogues. About half way from Morristown to Speedwell, on the stream, was another dupe, one D—— C——, the owner of a grist-mill. In Hanover township, one S——, a man of some means, bore a leading part in the ridiculous affair. He once spent a whole evening with Aaron Kitchel, one of the strongest men in the County—a member of Congress, afterward—endeavoring to get him to join "The Spirit Batch," as it was pop-

ularly called. With the greatest secresy, he talked; but Kitchel was not to be duped. Colonel H—— tried to convert Abraham Kitchel, a brother of Aaron; but he "gave H—— "a book, telling him to read that, and it would "convince him that it was all a hoax"! In the vicinity of Dover, was Squire B—— L——, a son-in-law of Doctor J—— H———, who came into the measure quite reluctantly and with no faith, whatever; but, tradition says, he had shrewdness enough to come out of it richer than he went in.

In September, 1788, Rogers was ready for operations; and his first attempt was "to ex- "hibit his art in raising and expelling appari- "tions, as he had engaged," the final resnlt of which was "to obtain a supposed hidden treas- "ure, that lies dormant in the earth at School- "ey's-mountain. This capricious notion had "been of long standing, and was, then, the pre- "dominant opinion among the greatest part of "Morristown, as they said there had been re- "peated efforts made to obtain the treasure, "but all had proved abortive; for whenever "they attempted to break ground, there would "many hobgoblins and apparitions appear, "which, in a short time, obliged them to evacu- "ate the place."

The first meeting of "The Spirit Batch," is said to have been held at L——'s house, in Solitude; and eight men were present. The whole affair was conducted with "the greatest secresy." Roger impressed the whole party with a sense of his piety by having the meeting conducted on religious principles. Several prayers were offered; and then he "communicated to them the "solemnity of the business and the intricacy of "the undertaking, informing them there was an "immense sum deposited somewhere on School- "ey's-mountain; that there had been several "persons murdered and buried with the money, "in order to retain it in the earth; that those "spirits must be raised and conversed with, "before the money could be obtained; and that "he could, by his art and power, raise these "apparitions, and the whole company might hear "him converse with them, and satisfy themselves "that there was no deception." My smoke-colored pamphlet does not say that these eight worthy men "saw the elephant," that night; but, from other sources, I learn they *heard* him, for, whilst they were listening to Rogers, suddenly, there was a loud thumping noise, on the roof and sides of the house, and an unearthly voice spoke out, by the window, and said, "PRESS FORWARD." The listeners felt themselves to be on "enchanted "ground;" and, with terror not unmingled with satisfaction, they yielded their full confidence to Rogers. To help the matter, some one of the company, supposed to be L——, one dark night, soon afterward, was terrified by seeing "a sheeted ghost" gliding along, without touching the earth. There was no mistake in the matter; and, half dead with fright, he fled to the house, and, at the earliest moment, confirmed the faith of his companions by telling them what he had seen. And so the fraud was fairly begun.

Meetings were occasionally held, with the utmost secresy; and "Rogers informed them that "he should have interviews with the spirits; and, "as the apparitions knew all things, they must be "careful to walk circumspectly and refrain from "all immorality, or they would stimulate the "spirits to withhold, from them, the treasures." The unwritten tradition is that these counsels were emphasized by furious rappings on the house and, occasionally, by the sudden appearance of the ghost, in some lonely spot, on some dark night. "These gentlemen," says my old pamphleteer, "now, under apprehension of vast "riches, began to propagate their intentions to "particular friends; and there was such a pros- "pect of being rich, that many were anxious to "become members: and additions were made "to it, daily, of such as expected great riches. "The company convened almost every evening, "until their number increased to about fifty." These meetings were religious—as one of my informants expressed it, "as religious as the Old "Boy himself"—and one significant fact I have, from good authority, that the best *apple whiskey* was provided before the services began, which, no doubt, aided the dupes to see sights and to be overcome with *spiritual* manifestations. In fact, there is a story about this, too good to be omitted. At the earnest solicitation of Colonel H——, A—— K—— was induced to attend one of these mysterious prayer-meetings, when he would see enough to give him faith: but the dull-headed spectator, when his friend, B——, "produced a paper, on which was the figure of "a hand drawn by the ghost himself," declared that "any boy, of ordinary parts, or any old "woman, could draw one as good!" After the meeting, Rogers, who was not present, asked whether this man, K——, had joined them; and, when told that he had not, he asked "Did you "*treat* him?" "Yes, before he left." "There's "the mistake," said Rogers, "you ought to have "treated him when he first came! so that, whilst "the prayers were going on, the *spirits* might "have been at work in him, to raise his ideas!" A—— K—— never got into "The Spirit Batch."

From all I can learn, it is evident that Rogers was compelled to have more than one assistant; and tradition says he found these in the persons of two Yankee school-masters, one of them called Goodenough, the other's name I have never heard. The ancient chronicler says that "Rogers

"and his connections had recourse to several "experiments, in compounding various substanc-"es, that, being thrown into the air, would break "with such appearances as to indicate to the "beholders the result of supernatural power. "He had compositions of various kinds: some, "by being buried in the earth, for so many hours, "would break and cause a great explosion, which "appeared dismal, in the night, and would "cause great timidity. The company were all "anxious to proceed, and were much elevated "with such uncommon curiosities. A night was "appointed for the whole company to convene; "and it happened to be a most severe stormy "night; but every man was punctual in his "attendance. Some rode eight, some twelve, "miles, when the inclemency of the weather was "sufficient to extinguish health. At this inter-"view, they were all much astonished with "an unexpected interview with the spirit," who bade them be very regular and moral, and very submissive to Rogers, "and then be careful to "to keep within the circles previously drawn by "him, or they would provoke the spirits to that "degree that they would finally extirpate them "from the place."

At this time, their ghostly visitant told them to meet "such a night, at a certain place, about "half a mile from any house, in a field, retired "from traveling and noise." This was in Solitude; and there is a very curious tradition, which has not been recorded before. It is said, by persons recently living, that the field in which "The "Spirit Batch" were directed to meet, was a buckwheat lot; and that, one morning, before the great meeting was to take place, "the owner "found his buckwheat stubble shaped into a "great variety of paths, circular, elliptical, square, "serpentine, and other fanciful shapes. It had "all been done in one night: and, when the "dupes saw it, as they soon did, it was their "opinion that a thousand men could not have "done that work, in one night. Nothing "was more certain than that the spirits had done "it! So ready were they to attribute to super-"natural agency, some rude work which Rogers "and his smart Yankees had done with no other "inconvenience than a little fatigue!" I have no doubt this was the manner in which the circles were drawn for the night interviews with the Ghosts.

My old pamphlet must be allowed to tell the story of that night. "The night being now "come, they all, with joy, fear, and trembling, "convened at the appointed house, about half a "mile from the field. This was environed, on "the North and West, by a thick wood. The "circles and angles being drawn the preced-"ing day, they all proceeded from the house, "about ten o'clock in the evening, with peculiar "silence and decorum, and entered the circles, "with the greatest solemnity, being fully sensi-"ble that they were surrounded by apparitions "and hobgoblins. Upon one part of the circle, "were erected four posts, in order to spread a "cloth and form a tent, where Rogers could "preside, as governor of the ghostly procession. "The number that entered these circles was "about forty. This number was walking, alter-"nately, during the whole procession. It is not "to be wondered at, if people were timorous in "this place; for the candles, illumining one "part of the circle, caused a ghastly, melancho-"ly, direful gloom, towards the woods, for it was "a dark night. Every person must suppose that "this is a suitable place for the pretended ghosts "to make their appearance and establish the faith "of their disciples, in hobgoblins, apparitions, "witchcraft, and the devil. After they had "been rotating, within the circles, for a consid-"erable time, with great decorum, they were in "stantaneously shocked with the most impetuous "explosion from the earth, at a small distance "from them. This substance was previously "compounded, and secreted in that place, a few "hours before. The flames, rising to a consid-"erable height, illuminated the circumambient "atmosphere, and presented many dreadful ob-"jects from the supposed haunted grove, which "was instantaneously involved in obscurity. "Immediately after, the pretended ghosts made "their appearance, with a *hedious* groan. They "remained invisible to the company, but con-"versed with Rogers. This was in November, "1788. The spirits informed them that they "had possession of vast treasure, and could not "give them up, unless they proceeded regularly "and without variance; and, as fortune had dis-"criminated them to receive the treasure, each of "them must deliver to the spirits twelve pounds, "for the money could not be given up, by the spir-"its, until that sum was given to them. They "must also acknowledge Rogers as their con-"ductor, and adhere to his precepts; and, as "they knew all things, they would detect the "man that attempted to defraud his neighbor."

The ghosts wore masks, which disguised both their faces and voices, effectually; and, during their conversation with Rogers, the credulous "forty" were on their knees. Several times, the spirits seemed raging to destroy them; but the incantations of Rogers quieted them. That interview "lasted until three o'clock in the "morning," when the ghosts and the men slunk away, to uneasy slumber, both parties stimulated by "the love of money."

My old pamphlet says that the ghosts required the money to be "silver and gold," as the paper currency was not worth much; but, I find a well-authenticated tradition, which properly belongs

here. When Rogers was arrested, Moses Tuttle, of Mount Pleasant, a very shrewd magistrate, assisted to examine some witnesses; and the fact was proved, that "The Morristown Ghost" obtained a considerable amount of paper-money, in this way. Rogers told his followers they must collect and burn their paper-money, in return for which sacrifice they should receive a hundred fold, in precious metals. The business was conducted, in this way: the whole company kneeled within the mystic circle, and engaged in prayer. Then, each one took from his pocket the bills he had, and gave them to Rogers, who, with due incantations, proceeded to deposit the sum (which was quite large) at the foot of a tree, whence it was taken by the sheeted ghost, whose presence was evident from the sulphurous smell which pervaded the air.

The display made in the open field, at night, as already related, left a great impression on the minds of the witnesses, "who all returned "from the field, wondering at the miraculous "things that happened, being fully persuaded "of the existence of hobgoblins and apparitions. "By this time, they could revere Rogers, and "thought him something more than human." The feelings of some of them were well described by one of them, when asked, by a Justice of the Peace, what he prayed for, during those meetings. He replied, "I was so scared, that I prayed the "Lord to kill the Devil!"

[To be Continued.]

III.—*EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.*

From the original manuscripts, now first printed.

[The document here published contains the Minutes of the Vestry of Trinity Church, for the first twenty years after its incorporation—from the twenty-eighth of June 1697, to the first of July, 1717. It is evidently the *original draught* of records designed to be engrossed.

Whether they are extant and complete in any other shape, the writer is not informed. He discovered these Minutes amongst a mass of papers kindly placed in his hands by Dr. John Clarkson Jay, of Rye, N. Y., by whose kind permission, they are communicated for publication in The Historical Magazine.

The manuscript, when collated, was found to cover one hundred and sixty-five pages of foolscap paper; not numbered, but consecutive, and almost without a break. Some of the sheets are stitched together in thin books, whilst others are detached. The numerous erasures, and insertions of words and sentences, as well as the orders taken for the transcription of the Minutes, show that this was the rough draught of proceedings, to be copied into the Vestry Register. As such, it doubtless remained in the hands of the Clerk, as a paper of no particular value

The manuscripts among which these Minutes were found have descended to their present owner from his illustrious grandfather, John Jay; but nothing more is known of their history. They are now given to the public, as a curious relic of the past, preserving the names of many of the ancient inhabitants of New York, and supplying some interesting details, relative to the city, as well as to the venerable Corporation whose early transactions are narrated.

Rye, N. Y. Charles W. Baird]

[Minutes.]

June y^e^ 28^th^ 1697

at a meeting of y^e^ manag^rs^ & members of Trinity Church in y^e^ Citty of New York present

W^m^ Merritt
Cap^t^ W^m^ Morris
John Crooke
Tho Barroughs
Capt Lawrance Reed
Nathaniell Maston
Tho: Clarke

Maj^r^ W^m^ Merritt [*and*] M^r^ Thomas Clarke Capt W^m^ Morriss make return y^t^ according to ord^r^ they have spent a day in getting Subscription & in collecting mony for use of Trinitie church– Cap^t^ Tuder absent in the service—

Overseers for y^e^ Present Week

June y^e^ 28^th^	Cap^t^ Will Morris
Tuesday 29^th^	Cap^t^ Thomas Clarke
Wensday 30^th^	Cap^t^ Eben: Willson
Thursday Jn: 1^st^	M^r^ Sam^ll^ Burte
Fryday– 2^d^	M^r^ James Evetts
Saturday 3^d^	M^r^ Nath Marston
Munday 4^th^	M^r^ Mich Hawdon
Tuesday 5^th^	M^r^ John Crooke

Ordered that Capt. Lawrence Reade M^r^ Sam^ll^ Burte M^r^ John Crooke & M^r^ Thomas Burroughs doe Collect the Arrearages of Subscriptions for the Carrying on of Trinity Church & make their Return on Munday Next.

Order'd that a Place be Cutt in the wall of the Church to [*putt*] Place his Excell^y^ Arms in behind the Place where they Now Stand. & that Cap^t^ Clarke Cap^t^ Morris & the Mayor doe take Care to See the Same Effected.

Citty of New Yorke } At A Meeting of y^e^ [*Managers of ye Church build*] Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^e^: English Protestant Church for building of Trinitiy Church on Wensday the 30^th^ day of June 1697

Present
Will Merrett Eeq^rs^
M^r^ James [*Evetts*] Emott
Capt Will Morris
M^r^ David Jameson
Capt John Merrett
M^r^ Sam^ll^ Burte
M^r^ W^m^ Huddleston
M^r^ Gab^l^ Ludlow

THE

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.—*THE MORRISTOWN GHOST.*—Concluded.

By Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash University, Indiana.

Colonel H.——— was elected the Treasurer of the association; and this eventually proved a costly business to him. All the members agreed to pay the specified sum of twelve pounds, in silver or gold, as soon as possible; but Rogers, seeing that some of them could not obtain so large a sum, allowed such to pay six pounds, and such as could not pay six to pay four pounds. The poverty of the County, at that period, is seen in the fact that these men, many of them in good circumstances, found it exceedingly difficult to obtain the reasonable sum demanded by the ghost. The entire Winter was consumed by them, in efforts to borrow that money. Some of them mortgaged their farms, and others sold their cattle and horses for half their value, so that, when the operation was finished, they were greatly embarassed. But, whilst they were raising this money, frequent meetings were held; and, as fast as the money was obtained, it was delivered to the spirits. "Whenever they met in a secret room, "the door and window-shutters being made "fast, unusual noises would be heard about the "house that would cause great timidity, groan- "ings, and rappings upon the house, the falling "of boards in the chamber, the jingling of "money at the window, and a voice speaking, "'Press forward!' The superficial machine "that was over the mouth of him who spoke, "so much altered his voice, that no one could "detect him." The ghostly visitants continually asseverated, at these interviews, "that they "were sent to deliver that society great riches; "that they could have no rest until they had "given it up; but the money they requested "was only an acknowledgement for such im- "mense treasures!" Occasionally, some of the dupes would be called out of their beds by the ghost, and directed to convene the whole circle, at some specified place, on which occasion, says my informant, "the pretended spirits were out- "side of the house, groaning, jingling money, "telling them to have faith, be of good cheer, "and keep secret all transactions, and, in *May* "*next, they should receive the treasure.*" So the grand consummation was at hand; and the greedy expectants were impatiently awaiting the day. But, "Rogers and his associates hav- "ing received the greater part of the money," were not anxious for that day. Their study was "how to postpone the next meeting; for "all the dupes expected to proceed to School- "ey's mountain, the next May, and receive the "treasure."

So well has my old pamphleteer told this part of the story that I will not abridge nor alter his account. "The night appointed being "now arrived, they all convened in a large "circle, in an open field, waiting for the ghosts "to appear and give them further directions, "and proceed with them to the place where the "money was deposited. Immediately, the "ghosts appeared without the circle, with great "choler, and *hedeous* groanings, wreathing them- "selves, in various positions that appeared most "ghastly in the night—then upbraiding the "company, declaring they had not proceeded "regular, and some of them was faithless, and "had divulged many things that ought to have "been kept secret; and by their wicked dispo- "sitions and animosities that had taken place "among them, debarred them, at present, from "obtaining the treasures. The pretended "ghosts, raged to that degree, at the miscon- "duct of the company, that Rogers appeared or "pretended to be much frightened, with the "rest, and with all his art and pleading was "scarcely able to pacify the raging ghosts! "At this, the company, confiding in Rogers, "looked to him for protection. The ghosts "informed them they must wait, patiently, "until some future period. They were now so "much intimidated, that they thought little "about money. At length, Rogers, after a "variety of ceremonies, by his art and power, "dispelled the frightful apparitions; and tran- "quility once more resides within the circle."

Thus far this cunning rogue and his fellows had prospered in their game, as much as the most sanguine could desire; and had they stopped, here, and kept their counsels, to this day, there would have been heard as ghostly stories and as well authenticated, in Morristown as in any of the haunted localities in the old world. In fact, our old historian waxes almost pathetic on this point, asserting that "had Rogers now halted, and not proceeded "upon another project, he would have been "feared and respected; and the capricious "notions of witchcraft, hobgoblins, and the "devil would have prevailed among them, with "prejudice, fear, and ignorance, until this day. "But this diabolical intrigue and the succeed-"ing one has diffused light and eradicated "ignorance from the minds of many."

Up to this time, the proceedings of "the "Spirit Batch" were known only among themselves. Even their wives were not let into the secret, Rogers having prohibited them from divulging it to any one, under the most severe penalties. That some strange enterprise was on foot, was suspected by more than one wife, whose slumbers had been disturbed by the visits of the ghost, and whose husband was absent from home, so much and so mysteriously. It was said, that some of these women compared notes and concluded "that something was "wrong." There were also some vague rumors afloat, in the community, during that Winter; but nothing was definitely known, outside the circle of forty men who were sure of getting the buried treasures in Schooley's-mountain.

At this stage of the proceedings, Rogers wished to stop, having already filched some eight hundred or a thousand dollars from his dupes. All further steps would be attended with risks, as he well knew, because the circle of those acquainted with his pretensions must be enlarged. As my chronicler states the fact, Rogers's secret became known to two smart young Yankees, who were teaching school in Morris-county. They were probably privy to the ghostly scenes of that Winter and Spring; and, Rogers having taken the lion's share of the proceeds, they insisted on his undertaking another similar imposture. He had removed to Morristown, in the Winter of 1788–9, and was teaching a select school near the Presbyterian-church. The tradition is, that these young men forced Rogers into the second game, by threatening to expose his previous fraud, of which they were actual witnesses and abettors. In addition to this inducement, Rogers was both enterprising and covetous; so that, in the end, he went to work with energy. His two accomplices, in the Spring of 1789, removed twenty miles from Morristown, "but still kept up a correspon-"dence with him, by letters and frequent "visits." This gave them a "favorable oppor-"tunity to gain proselytes, as it is evident "they seduced many, and some eminent char-"acters, that would have joined the company; "but Rogers thought it not proper to admit "them, as appeared from the corresponding let-"ters with Rogers and the fire club." This sentence looks as if Rogers himself furnished the materials for this pamphlet, as I have found no other intimation of this correspondence.

As soon as the plan was arranged, the associates, "only five in number," began to operate in various localities. I find traces of them in Morristown, Bottle-hill, Hanover, Rockaway, Dover, Rockaway-valley, and other places. The greatest caution was observed in selecting those who were to be seduced. Sometimes a prayer-meeting was made the occasion for displaying some mysterious signs of his ghostship. As already intimated, credulity was made easy by the social apple-whiskey; and the strange occurrences of the previous Winter were carefully related, so as to silence doubt. That the statements of such men as were involved in these transactions should have carried conviction to many unbelievers is not strange. Rogers, himself, was not idle, but sought to insinuate himself into the confidence of such as he supposed could be gulled. Many ridiculous and incredible stories got afloat in the community; and, among them, this, which was firmly believed by many. The Court-house then stood in the North-west corner of the Green; and, one night, according to the rumor, a figure, in white raiment, was seen gliding from the roof of the Court-house to the opposite tavern; and as it moved it warned those present to flee from the wrath to come! Some people explained it as a performance on the tight-rope; but the safer explanation is, that it was a story manufactured for use in "the rural districts," where it would be likely to find believers who could not easily correct the lie by examination. At any rate, people were found to believe the silly rumor. Another somewhat more credible story was this. A young woman, in the employ of a farmer, near Morristown, was milking, after dark. There was ice on the ground. Some noise attracted her attention; when she saw, standing on the ridge of the barn, a sheeted ghost. She fled, shrieking, to the house. The next day, Rogers was complaining of a bruise he had received, as he afterwards confessed, by slipping too fast from the barn to the ground. One report says that he broke his arm in this fall.

An anecdote of Rogers's labors still survives, and is good enough to be preserved. Below the Church, in the valley, lived an Irishman, named Stevenson, who was reputed to have money in hand; and him Rogers would convert to his faith. Accordingly, he often visited him, in a friendly way, and sought to win his confidence, in various ways. Among the topics of conversation, incidentally introduced, was one concerning witches, ghosts, and apparitions. Many anecdotes were related by Rogers, some of which were professedly part of his own experience. The state of popular opinion, in the region, and the vague rumors of witchcraft then abroad, he hoped, would aid him in the proposed conversation; but Stevenson was very incredulous; and no progress was made in the desired direction. One evening, after a long talk about the matter, Rogers said, "Suppose, "Mr. Stevenson, you should see, some night, a "white figure gliding aloug, above the ground, "as if it did not touch the ground, or walk, "but moving along like a mist or ghost, what "would you do?" "Bejabers, I would use my "shelaleh on him!" was the very emphatic answer. It is said that Stevenson never saw the ghost!

But I must recur to the old chronicler for some facts relating to the new enterprise of Rogers and his fellows. The first meetiug numbered but five persons. "They proceed upon "various manœuvres, rotating the room in "order to raise the spirit: while they were "performing many ceremonies, various noises "were heard around the house: the rattling of "a wagou, groaning, striking upon the wiu- "dows, etc. Then each one taking a sheet of "paper, extending his arm, holding the paper "out at the door, waiting for the spirit to write "upon one of the papers how they should pro- "cced! After waiting for some time, each one "folding his paper, proceeding regularly arouud "a table, then opening their papers, on one of "them was a writing, directing them to convene "upon such a night, and the spirit would give "further directions how they must proceed. Pre- "vious to this, Rogers had prepared the writing, "but wanted more time for consideration: there- "fore, they were dismissed with orders to con- "vene on such a night. The night arrived." * * "After they had all convened, the first manœu- "vre was, both the deceiver aud the deceived "united in prayer, on their bended knees. "Then parading, according to their age, they "proceed rotating the room, as many times as "there were persons in number; then parading "around a table, each one drew a sheet of "paper from a quire, which Rogers folded and "delivered to each man one; then they pro- "ceeded, in order, a small distance from the "house, and drawing a circle about twelve feet "in diameter, they all stepped within it, "unfolding their papers, extending them with "one arm, fell with their faces to the earth, "continuing in prayer with their eyes closed, "that the spirit might enter within the circle "and write their directions on the papers; "then Rogers giviug the word, *Amen!* prayer "ended, and each one folded his paper, rose, "and marched into the house; then having "unfolded their papers, the writing appeared "upon one of them to the great astonishment "of most of the company."

This paper was preserved, by one of the company, as a sort of miracle to be used iu making converts. "The contents of the paper were, "that the company must be iucreased to eleven "members, and each one must deposit to the "spirit the sum of twelve pounds, silver or "gold." It is supposed that this meeting was held in Solitude, at L———'s house. Subsequent meetings were held elsewhere. Thus I find that one meeting was held in "Reeves's "Swamp;" and that each one deposited his money by a certain stump which the ghost had named. As one of the company was returning, he missed his foothold and plunged into the mud. Angered by the accident, he resolved to go back and get his money; but found that the spirit had been too quick for him.

Another meeting, as I was told by the late venerable Isaac Whitehead, of Jersey, Ohio, was held at B——— H———'s tanyard. It seems that, by dint of much persuasiou, a new member had been introduced into the cirele, that night. In common with the others, he had deposited his money in the place pointed out; and then, as the custom was, knelt for prayer. Each one was to keep his eyes closed till Rogers said "Amen." Meanwhile, the ghost glided in and took away the money. This night, the new member feeling somewhat iucredulous, and also burning with curiosity to see a 'live ghost,' did not close his eyes; but watched the movements, through his fingers. The ghost saw this, and was displeased; for he glided along, slow as fate, toward the disobedient reprobate. He, on his part, was too much under the influeuce of his superstitious dread "to use his shelaleh ,on him;" and, rising, he began to retreat backwards from the advancing spirit. His retreat was suddenly checked by a most unexpeeted and ludicrous adventure, for he backed into a large vat of bark liquor, into which he plunged, heels over head. His companions rescued him, in a woeful plight; but they found the ghost had vanished, of course, not forgetting to take the money!

Like a discreet ghost, Rogers selected dark nights for his appearances; and, if the facts were not fully authenticated, it could hardly be believed how boldly he carried on his fraud, and how credulously his dupes put faith in him. Take the following case, stated in the old pamphlet. "Rogers and his associates "now finding the minds of many flexible, re- "solved to proceed upon some new project, that "might have a tendency to prove more lucra- "tive. Accordingly, wrapping himself up in "a sheet, he went to the house of a certain gen- "tleman, in the night, and called him up, by "rapping at the doors and windows, and con- "versed with him, in such disguise, that the "gentleman thought he was a spirit. The pre- "tended spirit related to him that he had vast "treasures in his possession and that a com- "pany was in pursuit of it; and he could not "give it up unless some of THE MEMBERS OF THE "CHURCH joined them, such as I shall mention; "for, said he, '*I am the spirit of a just man, and* "'*am sent to give you information how to pro-* "'*ceed, and put the conducting of it into your* "'*hands; and I will ever be with you and give* "'*you directions when you go amiss; therefore,* "'*fear not, but go to Rogers and inform him of* "'*your interview with me—Fear not, I am ever* "'*with you!*'"

And our historian adds, with admirable simplicity, that "this gentleman, not apprehend- "ing any deception, believed it to be a spirit. "Early in the morning, he went to see Rogers, "and found everything that the spirit related "to be fact; he, therefore, was convinced that "it was from supernatural power!"

It seems, from the narrative, that the spirit named certain members of the Church whom "this gentleman" was to visit; and he did as commanded, finding them "very flexible—giv- "ing great heed to his declaration, and anxious "to see curiosities." "After this, none were "admitted to join the company, only those of "a truly moral character, either belonging to "the church or abstaining from profane com- "pany and walking circumspectly. This was "in June, 1789. The company now increased, "daily, of aged, abstemious, honest, judicious, "simple church-members. It is now in a relig- "ious line; and Rogers having put it into the "hands of another to conduct, he and his asso- "ciates were busy, every night, in disguise, ap- "pearing to particular persons, especially those "who were most weak in faith, calling them "up, in the night, and ordering them to *pray* "*without ceasing*, for they were just spirits sent "unto them, to inform them that they should "have great possessions if they would perse- "vere in faith."

The gentleman to whom our ghost appeared, as already mentioned, acted as "Conductor;" and, through him, it was revealed that the company must be increased to the number of thirty-seven, each of whom must give the spirit twelve pounds, in specie, equal to thirty dollars. The associates and their deceivers gradually attained the required number; but found it difficult to confirm the faith of some and to obtain the money of others. To overcome these difficulties, a meeting was held in order that the ghost might make some sign that could not be doubted.

One cannot well restrain laughter to think of a room full of men who were showing gray hairs, solemnly waiting for the Morristown Ghost, who was that night "to show his hand!" The first part of the time was spent in devout prayer; but not until another sort of spiritual influence had been invoked, for, says my chronicler, with a grim sort of raillery, describing one of the meetings, "a sufficient quantity of "liquor was also prepared, which the spirit "had ordered to be used *very freely;* then each "one taking a *hearty dram*, they all united in "fervent prayer, after which the meeting was "concluded. It is very obvious that spiritu- "ous liquors, when taken in large quantities, "will augment the ideas of men to anticipate "profit and pleasure, although they are inac- "cessible in futurity. Some of the members "caused great disturbance by their drinking, "inadvertently, to excess that powerful stimu- "lus; but it is something pleasing to see aged, "sober, abstemious men, with their ideas raised, "put on cheerfulness and vivacity."

With this very clear insight into the *spirit* which gave life to the meeting, we are prepared for the sequel. It was not strange that men, "with their ideas raised" by applejack, should be powerfully impressed by the spirit-rappings at the door and windows, and on the sides and roof of the house. How impressive to men, in such elevated mood, the ominous jingling of money and the hopeful admonition, addressed them by the invisible ghost, "Look to God!" "They were all amazed at such things; and "Rogers, with the rest, wondered! and they all "fell on their knees to pray!" Behold them now "rotating the room five times," each having a blank sheet of paper. Behold each one "tying a white handkerchief round his head "and loins," and thus, symbolically arrayed, "they all marched, with great decorum, into a "meadow, about one hundred yards from the "house." * * * * "After they arrived in the "meadow, Rogers put his blank paper into his "pocket and took a writing (previously pre- "pared) out, unnoticed, by any of the com-

"pany. They rotated a circle, thirty feet in "diameter, five times—then they all stepped "within the circle, and, unfolding their papers, "they all fell, with their faces to the earth, "with one arm extended, holding the paper, "that the spirit might enter within the circle "and write upon one of their papers how they "must proceed. They were ordered not to "look up, upon their peril, but to continue fer- "vent in prayer!" This continued ten minutes, when the leader said "Amen;" and all went back to the house, to find what the spirit had written. Sure enough, on Rogers's paper, the writing was seen. "so elegant that they "were all astonished, thinking it a miracle!" But "the contents of the paper" still more astonished our "Spirit batch," animated by "hearty drams" of pure apple-jack. Thus did the ghost dash into the midst of affairs, *in medias res*, in right gallant style: "*O faithless* "*man! What more need I exhibit unto you!* "*I am the spirit of a just man, sent from Heav-* "*en to declare these things unto you; and I can* "*have no rest until I have delivered great posses-* "*sions into your hands; but look to God, there is* "*greater treasures in Heaven for you! O faith-* "*less men! Press forward, in faith, and the* "*prize is yours!*" And, then, the devout ghost "mentioned various Chapters in the Bible that "the members must peruse, and particular "Psalms for them to sing!" Guiding them to incalculable wealth, in silver and gold, the ghost was too ghostly to forget their spiritual interests; and yet it was a shrewd and calculating ghost, for it told the associates that their number must be thirty-seven, each of whom must deposit, in precious metal, not *more* than twelve pounds (considerate ghost), nor less than six pounds, "and the money must be "given up, as soon as possible, in order to re- "lieve the spirit from his exigencies, that he "might return whence he came!"

A few days after this, twelve of the associates met and paid the ghost about forty pounds. The payment was made in a certain meadow, with due "rotating the circle," devout prayer, and "large drams" of apple-whiskey. This time, the ghost displayed a new talent; for when about sixty yards from the circle, he set up a great "*whistling*." And when, according to orders, the money had been placed at the foot of a certain tree, "the spirit appeared "about twenty yards distant from the tree, "with a sheet around him, jumping and stamp- "ing, repeating these words, '*Look to* GOD!' "Those that stood by the tree, made a short "complicated prayer, and laying the money at "the root of the tree, retired to the company. "They all returned to the house, observing the "greatest order, trembling at every noise, and "gazing in every direction, supposing they were "surrounded by hobgoblins, apparitions, witch- "es, and the devil," which latter supposition was not much astray from the truth!

To deepen the delusion, another trick was performed. Rogers gave each one *a charm*, which he pretended contained some of the dust of their bodies. It was simply bone-dust. This precious and potent powder they were to keep very secret, and no one was to touch it upon his peril; and, besides this, writes my chronicler, with a sardonic grin, "every means "were taken in order to make the members use "liquor freely." In order to promote so desirable an end, "the spirits gave unto the com- "mander a compounded mass that was to be "made into pills, and each one to take a pill "at every meeting; and, except he used very "freely of liquor, it would operate in making "his mouth and lips swell; thus they caused "some to drink to excess through fear, although "they before observed the greatest temperance, "and in fact some drank to that degree to ob- "viate the effects of the pill, that they were al- "most incapable of navigating in the night!"

In due time, the number of associates amounted to the required thirty-seven; and the most of the money had been paid over to the spirits. Fancy the animation which prevailed in the circle as, with imaginations quickened by "large drams," they thought of the ghost-guarded treasures as already within their reach. But "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and "the lip," as was proved in this case. The mystic *charm*, already alluded to, was to work mischief to the scheme. A prominent member of the circle lived about half way between Morristown and Speedwell, where he owned a grist-mill. He was a man considerably past middle age; of excellent repute in the community; but infected with the superstitious notions of the times. He had fallen an easy victim to the tricks of Rogers; and had given his money and influence to forward a scheme in which he had full confidence. His wife was not admitted to his confidence, in this respect. She was aware that some unusual proceedings were in progress; but what they were she did not know. She was anxious about the evident signs of "large drams" which, in some way, seemed connected with his movements. She and her neighbor, who was similarly exercised, had frequent conferences about the matter, with no very satisfactory results, until, fortunately, an unexpected clue to the mystery was obtained. On this point my authorities do not agree. The old pamphlet says that "one of "the aged members, having occasion to leave

"home, for a short time, on some emergency, "through forgetfulness, left his paper—the mys- "terious dust—in one of his pockets, at home. "His wife happened to find it; and, out of cu- "riosity, broke it open; but perceiving the "contents, she feared to touch it, lest, perad- "venture, it should have some connection with "witchcraft. She went immediately to Mr. "———, the pious clergyman of the congrega- "tion, for his advice on the subject; who, not "knowing its composition, was unwilling to "touch it, lest it might have some operation "upon him, and knew not what advice to give "her. When her husband was returned, and "had discovered what she had done, he was "much terrified, declaring that she had ruined "him, forever, by breaking open that paper. "This terror increased her anxiety to know the "contents; wherefore, upon her promising not "to divulge any thing, he related to her the "whole of their proceedings. She having "heard the account—sensible woman—declar- "ed they were serving the devil; and that, not- "withstanding her promise, she thought it her "duty to put an end to such proceedings."

My other authorities—one remembers the scenes, and the other had it direct from the family where the fraud began to be found out —say that the good wife was so disturbed at her husband's singular conduct, that she was on "the look out for opportunities;" and that she found what she looked for, one night, after a late sitting of the "Spirit-batch." "Her "man" came home, very tired; and, no doubt, in his stupor, increased by "large drams," he slept very soundly, so that his wife securely ex- amined his pockets. Finding the charm, she opened it; and, that very night, carried it to Doctor Johnes, the Minister, as already narrat- ed. The next morning, the man found out what happened and told his wife the affair. This, I suspect, is the correct version; and it is well to be very accurate in so grave a matter!

The fact that one of the members had revealed the affair to his wife was soon known to Rogers, his accomplices, and their dupes. The impostors realized that they were on dangerous ground, for, although they had received the greater part of the money, yet there was a considerable sum yet expected. They could not endure the thought of losing this. There was a brace of dangers not very pleasant to think of meeting, viz., lynch-law, at the hands of their victims, and penalty, at the hands of the law, as very great rogues. In order to steer among these breakers ahead, the impostors thought it necessary to make special ghostly visits to particular persons, whose faith was evidently shaken. Accordingly, "Rogers and his accomplices were in dis- "guise, every night, appearing, as spirits, to "particular persons, endeavoring to confirm "them in the faith, and thus, if possible, to "prevent a discovery." Tradition says that, for some time, these visits were very successful; but the full discovery of the fraud was owing to another custom of the spirit-circle, far more ef- fective than the charm which the good wife found in her husband's pocket. "The large "drams" of liquor had told powerfully on the temperance of Rogers as well as his victims. Now that his situation was becoming desperate, he sought inspiration in the bottle. "At last, "one evening, Rogers having drank too freely, "taking a sheet with him, he rode to the house "of a certain gentleman for the purpose of con- "versing with him, as a spirit. During the "conversation, he committed several blunders, "which the woman sagaciously observed. She "concluded, from this circumstance, that it must "be a man. The gentleman, however, at the "close of the conversation, went to prayer; "after which Rogers departed, declaring him- "self to be the spirit of a just man. In the "morning, as soon as it was light, the gentle- "man went out to the place where the spirit had "appeared; and there having fallen a heavy "dew that night, he observed the footsteps of a "man. He then followed the tracks to a fence, "where perceived that a horse had been fas- "tened; and, from thence, he pursued the "tracks of the horse to the house where Rogers "lived. Rogers being absent, he continued to "follow the same horse's tracks, by which he "was conducted to the house of a certain gentle- "man, where he found Rogers. This gentleman "had, on the preceding evening, lent a horse to "Rogers."

The fraud was now apparent; and the impos- tor was lodged in jail. The members of "the "Spirit-batch" were agitated with conflicting feelings. They could not, at once, convince themselves of Rogers's duplicity in the matter; nor could they readily give up the hope of the promised treasures for which they had already spent many sleepless nights and paid "to the "spirit" such large retaining-fees. With these feelings were mingled shame and chagrin to find the whole community in a broad laugh over these hidden things of darkness, which were being brought to the light. Perhaps, never did a jail hold a prisoner whose confederates or dupes so ardently desired him to be set at large. With consummate impudence, Rogers declared his in- nocence and, in a short time, one of his friends bailed him out of prison. But his enemies, find- ing that "he thought prudent to rescue himself "by a clandestine departure from New Jersey," had him arrested the second time, "when he "acknowledged his faults and confessed that, for

"his conduct and the declarations he had made "in the prosecution of his schemes, he deserved "punishment."

He was not detained long in prison; but how he escaped is not known—probably he was let out, on easy bail, out of deference to the feelings of his dupes; and that, being released, he left the region, or, as my old pamphleteer says, grandiloquently, "he accordingly absconded, "and, under the auspices of Fortune, saved "himself by flight from the malice of a host."

The profits of this enterprising adventure cannot be positively known. Those who had been deceived into paying "ghost-money" were too much chagrined and mortified to enter into a very accurate inventory of their lost property. It is a tradition that the payments made one night did not reach "the spirit," inasmuch as one of the incredulous members, whose name is still repeated, believing more in watching than in prayer, slyly took the money from the place of deposit, before his ghostship entered the charmed ring. It is currently reported that the Treasurer, a very worthy man, in most respects, but extremely superstitious, suffered so largely as to be embarrassed the remainder of his lifetime. It is said that, as Treasurer of the associates, he gave receipts for the money paid by them; and that, after the affair exploded, he was compelled to refund a considerable portion of this money.

Rogers returned to Connecticut, and was accustomed to boast that "he made ten thousand "dollars out of the Morristown Ghost;" but this, probably, was like many other statements from the some source. The common opinion, at the time, was that "the whole amount of money "obtained by Rogers and his associates, in these "nefarious plots, was about five hundred pounds, "or upwards of thirteen hundred dollars." There is a tradition, which I have directly from a person who lived among these singular scenes, that Rogers, for safe-keeping, had his ill-earned money deposited in a box, which he buried "at "the foot of a white-oak tree, back of Squire "B—— L———'s house." When the fraud was discovered, and Rogers was released from prison, the popular indignation against him was so great that he had to fly the country without carrying wtih him the buried box. After a time, he sent a man to Morristown with directions to the place in which the money was hid. This man, on a certain evening, coming to a tavern in the vicinity, put up for the night. During the evening, there being no one present but a young man apparently drunk and asleep, the stranger confidentially asked the landlord if he could tell him where one Squire B—— L——— lived, and if there were, near his house, a certain white-oak tree, which he described. The young man, supposed to be both drunk and asleep, was awake, and heard every word. From some previous knowledge of Rogers's movements, he was led to suspect that this man was there after buried money. Not long after, he arose and left the room as if nothing had happened. But, once fairly outside the tavern, he hurried to the white-oak tree and secured the treasure. Before midnight, the other man came to the same place, on a similar errand, but found the nest robbed. I give the story as I heard it, without pretending to vouch for its truth.

Such are the main facts in this curious delusion, practised on some four score or more middle-aged and respectable men. The whole region was convulsed with merriment, when the facts were known; and it is said that they furnished the materials for an amusing Comedy, which was played at a public exhibition in Newark, a few years afterwards. The narrative is a curious one, and would be incredible if it were not authenticated in all its main particulars.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND. J. F. T.

II.—*REMINISCENCES OF EARLY OHIO STATESMEN.*

A LETTER BY THE LATE HON. THOMAS EWING.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE A. T. GOODMAN, ESQR., OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May, 1870.

A. T. GOODMAN, ESQ., CLEVELAND, OHIO:

DEAR SIR: I remember Return Jonathan Meigs, at an early day, but did not then know him personally. He was a gentleman of distinction, in Marietta, and well-esteemed by men in the country. I saw him for the first time on his return from Mississippi Territory, where he had been sent as Judge. He conversed with my father, of the Territory and its condition, of which I, a boy-listener, remember nothing special. He was then a man of commanding person and, as I thought, fine intellect.

Many years after, I dined with him, in Marietta, about the time of Mr. Adams's election to the Presidency—he was depressed in spirits; thought the Government had fallen into feeble hands; spoke much of Mr. Monroe as the *ultimus Romanorum*; and of his own wish to retire with him to the shades of private life. It seemed to me that his mental vigor was much impaired, and that he "lagged superfluous on the stage." Mrs. Meigs was a bright, intelligent lady; conversed very handsomely of all things at Washington of which a stranger wished to be informed; and was quite a favorite in the circle in which she moved.

Ethan Allen Brown was a Judge of the Supreme Court, and afterwards Governor of Ohio. He was somnolent on the bench, and did not rank high as a lawyer and a Judge. He conversed well, had literary taste, and was fond of discussing the merits and construction of the English classics. I remember his reciting some lines of a coarse critique on Walter Scott, by Horace in London: the following are some of the lines:

"He that would rival Walter Scott,
"Like Sancho from the blanket shot,
"Must soar in devious sprawl."

He served as Governor of Ohio two terms, and was afterwards Commissioner of the General Land Office, where he acquitted himself most creditably, but was, at last, invited to resign, because he set his face against the questionable speculations of some patriots high in influence. When he was about to leave the office, I addressed to him a letter, in which I called his attention to the indignant exclamation of Doctor Caius, when he finds Simple in his closet, "Dare shall no "*honest man* come into my closet." Governor Brown retired silently; and I lost sight of him.

I knew little of Governor Worthington, personally, while in public life. He was one of the leaders of the Republican party in the Convention which formed the Constitution of Ohio, and was much censured for giving her a feeble Executive. After his retirement from office, and after I began to be known, he sought my acquaintance and explained to me, very fully, the causes which influenced his political course. He told me that General Arthur St. Clair, who was Governor of the North-western Territory, treated the members of his Council with great contempt. Having the veto power, he allowed them little share in legislation, and was, indeed, an autocrat. He instanced a case which, he said, indicated the general spirit of his bearing toward them.

The early Ordinance gave the Governor a tax of seventy-five cents on each marriage license. The Council thought the people should be relieved from this very objectionable burden; and, unwilling to ask the Governor to surrender the perquisite without an equivalent, they drew up a Bill giving him an annual sum, a little larger than the amount received for marriage licenses, and a Bill relieving the marriage license of the tax, and offered them, at the same time, for his signature. He took and read them; signed the one giving him the salary; put his veto upon the other; and, with a bow and a smile, which the Council considered contemptuous, handed back the two Bills. Governor Worthington said that, when they formed the Constitution of Ohio, they were smarting under the tyranny and contempt of their late Governor; and that he and a majority of the Convention acted under the impulse. He said time and experience had satisfied him that he had been mistaken; and that the Government would be safer and better with a stronger Executive. I was, on the whole, well satisfied with his explanation. He was a man of vigorous intellect, great industry and force of character, and he left a favorable impression when he retired from public life.

Duncan McArthur was an admirable specimen of the backwoodsman. He was a Ranger, betwixt boy and man, in the Indian War, from 1790 to 1795. He was once out alone, on the northwestern frontier of Kentucky, when he approached a deer-lick, and saw in it three Indians apparently looking for tracks. He instantly crouched, took deliberate aim, and fired at the Indian whom he took for the most athletic, and rose and ran. The Indian fell. Another instantly fired at him, and the ball passed through his powder-horn. He supposed he was pursued; but no Indian got near enough to be seen; and he reached the camp of his companions, unhurt. He once told me a story illustrative of the rude morals of the frontier Rangers.

Lewis Wetzel who preceded McArthur, by several years, was the terror of the Indians, on the Wheeling frontier. He was a little, active fellow; and it happened that he was fired at and missed so often that they considered him under a spell. The usual remedy, a piece of silver driven into the bullet, failed, and he was deemed proof, even against magic; but, at last, in one of their excursions, he was surprised and captured; and they bore him off in triumph to Sandusky, where they held a Council, and sentenced him to be burnt. An old Indian who had lost his son on the expedition, wanted to adopt, and tried to save, him. The night before he was to be burnt, he slept between two Indians, his legs and arms tied, with thongs, to stakes driven into the ground—the Indians lying on the thongs. Late at night, when all were asleep, the old Indian came; cut the thongs; got him out, without disturbing the sleepers; gave him the gun of his lost son; took his own; mounted a horse; and led the way, signing to Wetzel to follow. They travelled two or three days, without interruption, when they came to the two branches of the Muskingum, at Coshocton. The old man carried Wetzel across behind him, on his horse; and when over the East-branch, said he now knew the way, and turned with his horse and gun to return to Sandusky. When he had fairly entered the river, Wetzel shot him, and he fell dead; took his scalp and his horse and gun—it being the best of the two—and made his way home in safety. Wetzel told the story himself, without an apparent perception of its atrocity; but his brother Rangers refused to shake hands or

in any manner to associate with him afterwards.

I knew Governor McArthur long and intimately. He was a man of vigorous intellect, but crude and uncultivated. His daughters, of whom he was fond, grew up to be fine women; but his sons were ruined by the austerity and distance of his bearing towards them. He was their monitor, but not their companion and confidential friend.

I sat with Benjamin Ruggles, two years, in the United States Senate. He was a highly respectable member; and I perhaps thought the better of him as we agreed entirely in our political opinions. He spoke seldom, and briefly; and always with deliberation and judgment. He was a man of mark, in his part of Ohio, many years after he ceased to be Senator.

Thomas Morris succeeded Benjamin Ruggles in the Senate. He was a decided Democrat, and generally fierce in his opinions. When he first came into professional life, he waged a violent war with most of the other members of the profession in his County and Judicial Circuit, in which my somewhat loose information induced me to believe he was the assailed and injured party. He was indicted for a rape, on the complaint of a loose woman; was tried and acquitted; but taunted in all conceivable provoking ways with it, afterwards. About that time, the agricultural journals strongly recommended the turnip or *Rape* as a Fall crop for Winter sheep-pasture; and, as the farmers knew little about it, by the latter name, it was a subject of much inquiry. Morris's persecutors got up a report that he kept a quantity of the seed for the accommodation of his friends; and, for a week or two, he was daily assailed by honest, well-meaning countrymen with enquiries for *Rape-seed*, until, made furious by this and like modes of annoyance, he stood at bay—always for open and unsparing war. He was a man of considerable intellectual power and a good debater, though somewhat harsh and not always courteous. He evidently came to the Senate impressed with the opinion that his mission was to attack me. From this he was diverted by a trivial incident, in an early debate, to which I attached no importance. He attacked, somewhat harshly, a proposition of Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, as to the Public Lands. Walker replied, contemptuously; and Morris, much excited, attempted to get the floor when Walker sat down. I caught the eye of the President, in advance of him, simply for the purpose of giving him time to be deliberate; said a few words in reply to Mr. Grundy; and that I would deliver over the gentleman from Mississippi to the friendly care of my colleague, who evidently wished to cultivate his acquaintance. Morris got the floor. I asked him to yield it to me, for a moment; and I moved an adjournment, which gave him ample time to prepare his batteries against Walker; and he acquitted himself admirably. My whole object was to see that he had fair play, a thing to which he had been so little used, that it seemed as if he could never cease being grateful. We were afterwards on the very best of terms. I left him in the Senate, and lost sight of him, afterwards.

I knew Allen Trimble very well, as Governor of Ohio, and somewhat, though not intimately, in private life. He was prompt and sagacious, in the discharge of his official duties, and, in his private intercourse, a pleasing, unassuming gentleman. He passed through life without censure, and without an excess of praise.

Jessup N. Couch was one of our early Judges. He was kind and courteous to young members of the Bar, but did not rank high in the profession. In intellect and force of character, he was much below the average of the Bench.

Very respectfully, yours,

T. Ewing.

III.—*EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.*—Continued from Page 14.

From the original manuscripts, now first printed.

Att a Meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestry men on Mnnday y^e^ 18^th^ day of October Anno Dom. 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Vestry men:
Will Merrett
Will Morris
Thomas Clarke
John Crooke
Michael Howdon
William Janeway
Will Sharpas
David Jameson

Order'd that the Persons hereafter Named be Overseers of the Church building for the Ensueing Week

Octob^r^ 19^th^ Tuesday Gabriel Ludlow
20^th^ Wensday Thomas Burroughs
21^th^ Thursday W^m^ Huddleston
22 Fryday John Merrett
23^d^ Satuday W^m^ Janeway
25^th^ Mnnday Thos Wenham

Citty of New Yorke } ss Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry Men on Munday the 25^th^ day of October 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq^r^ Gab^ll^ Ludlow

David Jamison — Nath[l] Marston
Thomas Clarke — Will Huddleston
John Crooke — Michael Howdon
Will Morris — Will Sharpas
Thomas Burroughs
Sam[ll] Burte

Order'd that M[r] David Jameson & M[r] Thomas Clarke doe with all Convenient Expedition Cause his Excell Arms to be Engraved in Stone with an Inscription to be placed underneath them in these words following

[*Blank half page.*]

And the same when finished to be placed Over the South door on the Out Side of [*The*] Trinity Church & that the Charge thereof be Defrayed out of the Publick Stock

Orderd the Persons hereafter Named be Overseers of the Church building for the week following (Viz[t])

Tuesday October 26[th] Coll Heathcote
Wensday – 27[th] Will Merrett Esq[r]
Thursday 28[th] John Tuder
Fryday 29[th] James Emott
Satuday 30[th] Will Morris
Munday Nov[r] 1[st] Thomas Clarke

Orderd Capt Wenham M[r] Mayor Capt Morris and Capt Clarke be A Committee to Advise with M[r] Evetts what quantity of Timber Boards &c: will be Convenient to be purchased for the Making the Pews of the Church & make Report thereof [*this day*] on Munday Next

Capt Wenham Informed this board that [*Among*] Notwithstanding the Many Signal Gifts [*and favers*] his Excell has bestowed for the Encouragem[t] of Piety & Religion Amongst us in the Carrying on of the building of Trinity Church his Excell has been further pleased for the better Effecting of the Same to Grant [*to the Grant*] to the Present Church Wardens & Managers of the said building A Commission for all Weifts Wrecks and Drift Whales &c: which Commission was read in these words following (Viz[t])

[*Blank page.*]

[*Order'd that*] Capt Thomas Clarke [*be*] is hereby Commissionated to [*Appoint*] Depute such proper Persons on the Island of Nassau as he shall See meet for the Securing Cutting up & trying of all such Drift Whales &c as shall Come on Shore on y[e] S[d] Island and that for their Care and labour therein he Allow them Reasonable Encouragement.

Order'd that M[r] Boroughs M[r] Huddleston and M[r] Crooke & M[r] Howdon doe for the week following use their Endeavours to gett what Coutributions & Subscriptions they Can gett for the better Carrying of the Church & that they also Collect. what they Can of y[e]: former Subscriptions.

M[r] Thomas Clarke Infoms the board that Nicolas Fielding (A Person Reputed of honest Behaviour & Conversation has offer'd his Service to be Sexton of Trinity Church & that till the [*Order of the*] Corporation of the Church be formally Established & A Sallery Allowed for y[t] Service he will Serve the Order of this board Gratis itt is therefore Ordered and he is hereby Appointed Sexton of the Said Church,

Order'd that After the Expiration of four weeks from the Date hereof No Negroes be buried within the bounds & Limitts of the Church Yard of Trinity Church that is to say in the Rear of the Present burying plaee and that No [*Negroe*] Person or Negro whatsoever doe Presume (After the time Above Limited [*doe Presume*] to break up any Ground for the burying of Any Negro as they will Answer itt att their Perill. & that this Order be faithfully Published.

Citty of N: Yorke } ss

Att A Meeting of y[e]: Church Wardeus Aad Vestry men on Munday y[e]: 1[st] day of November 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq[r] — Gab[ll] Ludlow
David Jameson — Thomas Burroughs
Eben: Willsou — Will Sharpas
Mich Howdon — John Crooke
Nath Marston

their being a Nesseseity of paying of the Labourers of the Church & the Money in Banke being not Sufficient to doe the Same Cap[t] Thomas Wenham did therefore Voluntary lend ten pounds to the Church for the said Service w[ch] was paid to Cap[t] Willson who is to Acc[t] for the Same & all the Said Labourers that Came for their Money were Accordingly paid.

The Undernamed Persons are Appoint-

ed Overseers of the Church building for y^e following week

Nov^r 2^d Tuesday Cap^t Willson
3^d Wensday M^r Burte
4 Thursday M^r Evetts
4^th Fryday M^r Marston
6^th Saturday M^r Howdon
8^th Munday M^r Crooke

Citty of N: Yorke } ss Att a Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men on Monday the 15^th day of Nov^br 1697

Present Thomas Wenham, Robt Lurting — Church Wardens
William Merrett Esq, William Morris, David Jameson, Nathaniel Marston, Mich Hawdon, Will Sharpas, John Crooke, Gabriel Ludlow — Vestry men

M^r David Jameson Pursuant to the Order of this Board brought A Copy of the Jnscription to be placed under his Excells Arms in Trinity Church which was [*Read*] Approved & Read in these words following (Viz^t)

Hoc Trinatatis templum fundatum est Anno Regni Illustrissimi Supremi Domini GUILIELMI Tertii dei Gratiâ Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regis fidei Defensoris &c: Octavo Anno Dom: 1696 ac Voluntariâ quorundam Contributione & Donis Ædificantum, maxime autem dilecti Regis Chiliarchæ BENJAMINI FLETCHER hujus Provinciæ Strategi & I Jmperatoriis munificentia Animatum & Auctanie Cupiis Tempore moderanisuis hujus Civitatis incolæ Religionem Protestantem Exlesia Anglicanæ ut Secundum legem Nunc Stabiletæ profitentes quodam Diplomate Sub Sigello Provinciæ incorporati Sunt Atq Alias Plurimas ex re hia familari donotiones Notabiles eidem dedit

which being Englished is

This Trinity Church was founded in the Eighth year of the Reign of the most Illustrious Soveraign Lord William the third by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the faith &c: And in the year of our Lord 1696 And built by the Voluntary Contribution & Gifts of Some Persons And Chiefly Encouraged and Promoted by the bounty of his Excell: Collonell Benjamin Fletcher Cap^t Generall and Govrnour in Chiefe of this Provincc in the time of whose Government the Inhabitants of this Citty of the Protestant Religion of the Chnrch of England as now Established by Law were Incorporated by a Charter under the Seale of the Province and many other Valuable Gifts he gave to itt of his Private Fortune.

Ordered that M^r Marston & Will Sharpas doe Collect the Contributions in the Church for the four Sabbath days following.

Att A Meeting of y^e Church Wardens And Vestry men of y^e Trinity Church on Munday y^e 6^th day of Dec^br 1697

Present Thomas Wenham, Robt Lurting — Church Wardens
Will Merrett Esq^r, Will Morris, David Jameson, Michael Howden, Ebenezer Willson, James Evetts — Nathaniel Marston, Will Sharpas, Thomas Clarke, Thomas Burroughs, Gab^ll Ludlow

Nathaniel Marston & Will Sharpas paid to Capt Willson this Night Seaven pounds Eleven Shilings & three pence being Money Collected in the Church the three last Sabbath days.

Capt Wenham & Capt Morris paid to Capt Willson the Sum of thirteen pounds Seaventeen Shilings & three pence for five weeks Contribution in the Church by them Collected.

Ordered that M^r Mayor & M^r Evetts doc take Care that the Scaffold of y^e Steeple of y^e: Church be Struck & Also Such Other things as will be Nessessary and Covenient for y^e: Preservation of the Church

Citty of New Yorke } ss At A Meeting of y^e: Church Wardens & Vestry men of the Said Citty on Tuesday y^e: 29^th day of Dec^br 1697

Present Thomas Wenham, James Evetts — Church Wardens
Will Merrett Esq, Ebenezer Willson, William Morris, Sam^ll Burte, David Jameson, Mich Howden, Gab^ll Ludlow — Will Huddleston, Thomas Clarke, Will Sharpas

Nathaniel Marston & William Sharpas this Night paid to Capt Willson the Sum of four pounds five Shilings & Six pence which they Collected in the Church the two last Subbath days

Order'd that Capt Thomas Clarke and Mr Gabll Ludlow Collect ye: Contributions of ye: English Church Congregation for the four Sabbath days following.

Att A Meeting of ye Rector – – – Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday ye: 17th day of Jauuary Anno Dom 1697

Citty of New Yorke } ss

Present The Reverend Mr William Vessey Rector

Thomas Wenham, Robert Lurting } Church Wardens

William Merrett Esq, William Morris, David Jameson, James Evetts, William Janeway, Ebenezer Willson, John Crooke, Michael Howden } Vestrymen — Nathanial Marston, William Sharpas, William Huddleston, Thomas Burroughs

Ordered that the Church Wardens & Mr James Evetts doe with all Convenient Expedition Purchase Planke & boards Suitable for ye making Doors for the Church & make Reporte of his Acting therein to the Next Vestry

The board having Considered the Nessessity their is for A Clarke to Execute that office for the Service of the Congregation of Trinity Church & being Sencible of the good Services Mr William Huddleston has done in that office for Some years past & his readiness Still to officiate in the Said Office have Nominated & Appointed the said William Huddleston Clerke of the Said Church for the Year Ensueing to Commence from the 11th day of this Instant Month of January and that for his Encouragement for ye due Execution of the Said Office he have A Sallary of twenty pounds [℔ *Annum*] Currt Money of New Yorke & that the Same be paid Quarterly.

Order'd that Mr John Crooke & Mr William Janeway doe Collect the Contributions of the Church for four Sabbath days following.

Citty of New Yorke } ss

Att A Meeting of ye: Reetor Church Wardens & Vestry men of the Said Citty on Munday ye: 31th day of January 1697

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector

Thomas Wenham, Robert Lurting } Church Wardens

William Merrett Esq, William Morris, Thomas Clarke, David Jameson, Samuel Burte, James Evetts, Michael Howdon } Vestry men — Thomas Burroughs [*Michael II*], William Sharpas, Ebenezer Willson

His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher Capt Genll & Govr in Chief of this Province being the founder & Chiefe promoter of Trinity Church & being Desirous att his own Charge to Erect A Private Pew for the use of his family &c: [*and after the Removal of his family for any Genl*] this board having A due Sense of all his Excellencies favours have Ordered that Mr James Evetts doe lay out the Ground for the Same in the [*South*] East parte of the Church next to the [*Wall Over against the* [ ] Chancell to Remaine for Ever to the Aforesaid use [*or Such other use*] or the use of Others as his Excellency shall [*direct Shall*] thinke fitt to Direct.

Ordered that Trinity Church be Cleaned to-morrow [*and put in Order that*] Divine Service being to be Read therein the Next [*Sabbath day*] Sunday Mr. Jeremiah Tothill having Aecepted to Oversee ye: performanee thereof. this board promissing to Refund him in the Expence thereof.

Order'd that Mr Thomas Wenham & Mr Robt Lurting Church Wardens & Major William Merrett [&] Capt. William Morris [*be*] & Capt Thomas Clarke be a Committee for ye: Procuring of Glass & other Materialls for the finishing of ye: Windows of Trinity Church & also for the making of ye Doors thereof & that they perform the Same with all Convenient Expedition

Ordered that Capt William Morris & Capt Thomas Clarke doe goe About with ye: list of Subscriptions for the Glass. for Trinity Church for ye: following week

Capt Thomas Clarke one ye Collectors of the Contributions of ye Church in Christmas week &c: this Night paid to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of Six pounds Nine Shilings & Nine

pence Curr^{t} Money of New Yorke & Order'd he Acc^{ts} for y^{e}: Same.

Odered that M^{r} Robert Lurting pay to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of ten pounds three Shilings & Seaven pence halfe penny Curr^{t} Money itt being Money Collected by him & Michael Howdon for three Sabbath days ending the 16th Jnstant.

Citty of New Yorke } ss

Att Meeting of the [*Managers of*] Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday y^{e} 7th day of February Anno Dom 1697

Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esq	James Evetts
Ebenezer Willson	Nath Marston
William Morris	Will Sharpas
Thomas Charke	
Michael Howdon	

Order'd that all Persons that have Received or Disbursted Money on account of the Church doe Carry their Accouts to M^{r} Giles Stollard in Order that they be duely Stated

Ordered that M^{r} James Evetts & M^{r} Jeremiah Tothill doe take Care to Level y^{e}: Ground in the Church & to provide Such Materialls as will be Nessessary for the Setting up of y^{e}: pullpit [*in the Church.*]

Citty of New Yorke } ss

Att A Meeting of y^{e}: Rector Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^{e}: Said Citty on munday y^{e}: 14th day of February Anno Dom: 1697

Present [*The Reverend M^{r} William Vesey*]

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }

William Merrett Esq^{r} } Vestry men
David Jameson
Ebenezer Willson }

William Morris }
Thomas Cl rke
James Evetts
Sam^{ll} Burte
Thomas Burroughs
John Crooke
William Huddleston } Vestry men
Michael Howdon
William Janeway
Nath Marston
Will Sharpas
John Tuder }

[*M^{r} James Evetts brought in A Draft of the Pews of the Church which* [by Lotts] *were* [divided] *allotted as followeth Viz^{t}*

The Pew 45 for y^{e}: Rector for the time being
46 William Merrett Esq^{r} & John his Son &c
47 Coll Caleb Heathcote & Will Nicolls Esq^{r}
48 James Graham Esq^{r} & Lewis Morris Esq^{r}
49 Thomas Wenham & Rob^{t} Lurting
15 Will Huddleston & Gabriel Ludlow
16 James Emott & Will Kidd
17 Thomas Clarke & Edward Graham
18 Nathan Marston & Daniel Honan
44 David Jameson & Will Anderson
43 Ebenezer Willson & Will Sharpas
42 John Tuder & Giles Stollard
40 Will Morris & John Tuder Junr
39 Peter Matthews & Thomas Monsey
36 Matthew Clarkson & Will
34 James Evetts & John Crooke
33 Will Janeway & Jerem Tothill
35 Michael Howdon & Thomas Jurey
32 Law: Reade & Edward Antill
9 Sam^{ll} Burte & Will Barker
10 Thomas Burroughs & Thos Molton

And itt is Agreed that the Above persons Shall build the Respective Pews att their own Charge w^{ch} Respective pews are to Remaine to them Respectively & their Respective Heirs for Ever provided that the Said Respective Pews be maintained in good Repair bey the Said Respective persons att their own Charge. and that in Case of Neglect thereof for one twelve Months Next after due warning is Given by the Church Wardens for the time being that then Such Pews Soe Neglected Shall Revert & Return to the Church Wardens of y^{e}: Said Church for y^{e}: time being & thereafter be Solely & Wholy att their Disposall.]

Mr William Janeway & M^{r} John Crooke this Night paid to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of Nine pounds Eighteen Shilings & Six pence Curr^{t} Money of New Yorke itt being Money by them Collected in the Church for y^{e}: four Sabbath days last past.

Ordered that Cap^{t} Thomas Clarke & Cap^{t} Jeremiah Tothill doe Collect y^{e}: Contributions of y^{e}: Church for the four Sabbath days following

[To be Continued.]

IV.—*THE ATTACK ON FORT MIFFLIN, 1777.*

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF THE BARON D'ARENDT.

Translated from the originals, and communicated by Colonel T. Bailey Myers, of New York City.

Sir:

You will have the kindness to inform his Excellency that I have received to-day the

ammunition for which Colonel Smith asked, and that I have made arrangements to take enough, here, so that we may not run short in an attack, and the rest is to be given to the fleet to take care of. I have had several repairs made, in order to strengthen the weak places as much as possible: I would progress much faster, if the obstacles mentioned in my last letter, did not prevent me. I am still very certain that the garrison is a great deal too feeble to resist an attack with one line of soldiers, we need yet 800 more men. Major Fleury has the same opinion; we cannot form a vigorous resistance with the present garrison: (this will be seen by his Excellency).

To remedy in some way this defect, and to protect the fort from a surprise in the night, which is the most dangerous for us, I have asked Colonel Green to send here every evening 100 men from the Red Bank, who will return there at day-break. The greatest defense of this place consists, (according to my opinion) in preventing the enemy from landing; but, as we can see nothing in the night, and the cannon cannot be aimed straight, the entire part of this defense depends on the fleet.

It would be very just if all of our fleet were here every night to be on hand, otherwise they would be too late for the signal. The Commodore sends us sometimes a few boats, sometimes nothing but an armed battery, which is good for a guard but not for a defense, and yet, they only arrive in the night. For this reason, I have recommended him to be more punctual.

Last night, we had a false alarm, and we heard boats rowing on the river. I at once placed my men under arms; but it seemed to me that they were some of the enemy's boats on guard. I have learned to-day however that 16 of the enemy's boats full of troops, (the number of which I do not know) have passed the Schuylkill at Prood Island landing. If this be true, we shall have to be on the watch to-night, especially as it will be very dark, it being rainy weather. I shall be on the look out so that the enemy may not surprise us, and have sent warning to the Commodore.

I am quite unwell, much more so than usual, nothing but honor has kept me here till the present, for I cannot walk and I drag myself along with much difficulty, and I fear I have got a mortal sickness. I have been examined by the Surgeons here, who find my case very bad. I have resolved to go to a house near Red Bank, to remain several days, perhaps the solitude of the place and the pure air will benefit me, (and then I shall return to my post) because I suffer too much to remain here, any longer, as I am entirely ruining my health. The news of which I have written you has retarded me yet for to-day, and to-morrow I shall leave. I am very sure that his Excellency will not blame me for doing so. Colonel Smith who knows this locality very well as well as its defense and my plans, will see to everything during my absence, and will do everything he can, to prevent discord between himself and Lieut. Colonel Green. I will render him justice by saying, that he is an excellent officer, and that I would wish for many more of his kind in America. I render the same justice to Major Fleury who is brave and active.

Give my respects to his Excellency,

I am your most humble servant

BARON ARENDT.

FORT MIFFLIN
October 26. 1777.

I have just learned that the fleet has kept all the ammunition saying that it was meant for them and not for us. At present, the garrison of this fort consists of only 300 able men, who could fight in case of an attack, as there are some sick ones among us. I have given Captain Treat of the Artillery about 30 men to assist him, but he tells me that he needs 70 more, and it would be a very good idea, if there were a Company of Artillery here.

We should have, therefore, according to my absolute ideas of reinforcement, 500 soldiers
70 artillery-men

570 men

Among the cannons of the battery, and the others, there are some which cannot be used on account of their chambers.

At 8 o'clock in the evening:

I have just received a letter from the Commodore in which he says, that he sends four armed batteries, but says, at the same time, that if the wind blows, the boats cannot remain and sustain us, and we must rely on ourselves: see the inclosed letter.

P. S. Excuse my writing so badly; I can write no more on account of pain. In case that I become better in a few days I shall return instantly to the fort, and I would wish that I may become better here this Winter in order that I may do better in future

[*Addressed:*]

Colonel Hamilton
his absence
Colonel John Laurens
Head Quarters
pr Express

[*Endorsed:*]

Baron d' Arendt
26 October 1777
at Fort Mifflin

In a house near the Fort.
Red-Beach. October 29th 1777.

Sir,

I was obliged to be removed to a house about ¾ of a mile from the Red Beach and I have made arrangements to be informed of all events occurring during my absence and also have instructed Colonel Smith and Major Fleury what work they must take charge of. In case the enemy should attack this coast, I would retire to Haddenfield via Burlington, if my sickness prevents me from entering the fort. Notwithstanding I feel great pain, being obliged to write this letter in bed, my sufferings are only bodily and my mind is continually thinking of the best method of defending the post which has been entrusted to me. It is my opinion that it could be attacked in two ways, either by an assault or by settling on a part of the island whence they could open a breach. It would be easier to repulse the enemy if they made an assault than by the last method. I will not speak to you of the assault, although you are unacquainted with the fortifications of this place, which consist of a wall on one side and wooden fortifications on the other three; the general idea, as it is given, will suffice you, I will then speak to you but of the other kind of attack, at present. Major Fleury informed me that he had sent to His Excellency a representation of this island and of the fort: be kind enough to see him, having this letter. You will find that but one point of this island opposite Province Island at a place where the enemy has a battery which we call "the hospital battery" for I think it was meant for that. If the enemy wishes to make an attack by rule, they would only have to land at this place, for, notwithstanding it is swanpy, they could remedy this by fascines and gabions. They could then fight with us at a distance of 500 feet; and, as this side of the fort is surrounded but by wooden fortifications, they would soon make a large breach and reduce us to a great extremity on account of the condition of this side of the fort and by bombs from the opposite side of the river, particularly as we cannot resist them but with two cannons of which, the second is unprotected from the bombardment. The idea of this attack has so struck me that it seems that if the enemy knows our position; and they must know it, if it is true that the engineer who has commenced to fortify this island, is from the enemics' side, they would attack us in this way, for notwithstanding they would lose a little more time, the attack would be more certain and it would not expose the army as much as in an assault; especially as they do not know our forces perfectly, or the works which we have at present. I leave it to your Excellency to judge if my reflections are well-founded or not, but what confirms me in my opinion is the news which was received yesterday that a large number of cars filled with fascines have passed from Philadelphia to the Schuykill, and that they were to be used in the attack on Fort Mifflin. A person who was in this place on Sunday last, told me himself that he had seen these cars and had counted about 200. Now if this news be true what is the use of all these fascines but for the attack beforenamed?

If the enemy will post itself in this fatal place we must do everything to defeat them during the day; but particularly in the night when they will make false attacks, it will be very difficult to do this; and once stationed it will be almost impossible to force them to retreat. But I repeat and will continue to repeat, that the defense of the fort consists in preventing the enemy from landing, and it is the fleet which can prevent this, especially during the night when the cannons of the fort would not be very useful. I do not know if His Excellency will order the Commodore to join the fleet, neither do I know if it will be convenient or not; but I am sure that if the enemies' ships should protect the descent of the troops, our ships should not engage with them but should attack the boats which contain the troops; for I have been assured that it was not advisable to remove the chevaux de frise. You will be kind enough to translate the important points to His Excellency, for it is he who will weigh and judge of my remarks.

I will not repeat that a reinforcement of 300 men and 70 artillery men at least are necessary, if we have to defend ourselves; but as I do not know our General's intentions, I will not insist upon it. You will decide if it is not possible to prevent the enemy from sending troops against this fort or against Province Island. If they determine to remain at Philadelphia, they will try hard to take it. I have already informed you that the enemy has landed at Bottingsport with 300 soldiers. I flatter myself that His Excellency is convinced without the certifying of it by doctors, that I did not leave my post without great necessity. Be kind enough to answer me concerning this, as I would suffer in mind as well as body if I thought you doubted this.

With profound respect to His Excellency, I am, with all my heart,

Sir Your humble servant
Baron Arendt.

I forgot to mention that
there are 40 men in the hospital
not in fighting condition.

[*Addressed:*]
To Colonel Hamilton
A. D. C.

[*Endorsed:*]
Baron Arendt
29 Oct 1777

VI.—"*THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS*" *OF VERMONT.*

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

WARRANT. 24th June 1776.

These are to Warn the several Inhabitants of the N Hampshire grants on the West side, and to Desire those on the East Side the Range of Green Mountain's, That they Meet by their several Delegates, in General Convention, to be held at the Dwelling House of Mr Cephas Kent inholder in Dorset, on Wednesday the Twenty fourth day of July Next at 8 °Clock in the forenoon to Act on the Following Articles (viz).

1st to Choose a Moderator & Secondly a Clerk for said Convention

3d to Recieve the Report of Capt Heman Allen from the Continental Congress, he having been previously Appointed to transact Business in behalf of the inhabitants of said Grants.

4th To know the Minds of the Convention, Relative to their Associateing with the province of N. Hampshire.

5th In case the last Article be Objected to; Whether said Convention, will agree to an Association, (Not Repugnant to that of the Continental Congress) and Subscribe thereto, to do Duty [*with the Con*] in Conjunction with the Continental Troops (Only) as Members of the District of Land which they Inhabit.

6th To see if said Convention will earnestly Recommend it to the several Field officers heretofore nominated on said Grants, to see that their men be forthwith furnished with Suitable Arms, Ammunition and Accoutriments &c. agreeable to a Resolve of the honbl the Continental Congress.

7th To See if said Convention will make Preperation, and Settle with Capt Heman Allen for his Expences and Services for the publick. And 8th to transact any other that shall be thought Necessary in the power of Sd Convention for the Safety of the Liberties of the Colonies in General and the N. Hampshire Grants in particular

James Breakenridge, Simeon Hatheway, Elijah Dewey } Commi appointed

Coppy Examined pr Ionas Fay Clk

Dorsct July 24th 1776

In Consequence of the foregoing Warrant the following Persons being Delegated, met at this place to Transact the Business of Sd Warrant (viz,)

Towns Names	Delegates Names
Pownall	Capt Samll Wright
Bennington	Simeon Hatheway, Ionas Fay, Inº Burnam Iunr
Shaftsbury	Majr Ieremiah Clark, Mr Iohn Burnam
Sunderland	Ioseph Bradley
Manchester	Colº Wm Marsh, Lt Martin Powell, Gideon Ormsby
Dorset	Iohn Manly, Abrm Underhill
Rupert	Reuben Harmen, Amos Curtis
Pawlet	Capt William Fitch, Majr Roger Rose
Wells	Daniel Culver, Ogden Mallery
Poultney	Nehemiah How, William Ward
Castleton	Ephraim Buell, Jesse Belknap
Hubberton	Benja Hitchcock
Sudbury	Iohn Gage
Brigport	Samuel Benton
Addison	Colº Iohn Strong
Cornwall	James Bentley
Burlington	Lemuel Bradley
Stanford	Thomas Morgan
Williston	Colº Thos Chittenden
Jerico	Brown Chamberlin
Colchester	Ira Allen
Hindsburgh & Mongton	Isaac Lawrance
Neshobch	Iohn Mott.
Pittsford	Aaron Powers, Iona Rowley, Ionathan Fassett
Rutland	Asa Iohnson, Ioseph Bowker
Clarindon	Thomas Braten
N. Wallingford	Matthew Lyon, Abrm Iackson
Tinmouth	Ebenr Allen, Stephen Royce

"this expedition. The Americans represented "this and the affair at Bennington as great and "glorious victories. Nothing could exceed "their exultation and confidence. Gansevoort "and Willet, with Stark and Warner, (heroes "of Bennington) were ranked among those "who were considered the saviors of their "country."

[To be Continued.]

II.—THE FORD FAMILY, OF MORRISTOWN, N. J.

TWO UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY, BY THE LATE JUDGE GABRIEL H. FORD, OF MORRISTOWN.

Communicated, with a Prefatory Note, by Joseph F. Tuttle, D D., President of Wabash-College, Indiana.

[From my scrap-hook, I gather a few facts concerning the Ford family.

The maternal ancestor of the family—the mother of Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior—was the child of English parents, who emigrated to America when Philadelphia was a mere village. Her father's name is not on my record. Elizabeth ——— married a Ford; but I have not his christian-name, nor any acconnt of their children, except one—Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior.

From the family record of Moses Tuttle, of Monnt Pleasant, near Dover, in Morris-county, I learn that Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior's, mother, Elizabeth, was born in London, Eng., March 10, 1681; and died in Morristown, April 21st, 1772, aged ninety-one years. Her second husband's name was Lindley; and she was known, during the latter part of her life, as the "Widow Elizabeth Lind-"ley;" and is described as a lady of great personal worth.

Her son, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, was born April 13th, 1704, and died January 19th, 1777.

His wife, Hannah Baldwin, was born November 17th, 1701, and died at Morristown, July 31st, 1777.

"Jacob Ford and Hannah Baldwin were married" [*here the record of Moses Tuttle leaves a hiatus*]. "Their "children were John, Phebe, Sarah, Mary, Jane—mar-"ried to Moses Tuttle—Jacob, Junior, David, and Eliz-"abeth."

Jacob Ford, Junior—usually named in the documents of the day as "Col. Jacob Ford, Jr.,"—was born February 19th, 1738, and died at Morristown, January 11, 1777.

Theodosia Johnes, the second daughter of the Rev. Timothy Johnes, D.D.—more than half a century, the honored Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Morristown—and his first wife, Elizabeth Sayres, was born September 13th, 1741, and died August 31st, 1824, aged eighty-three years.

Jacob Ford, Junior, and Theodosia Johnes were married January 27th, 1762.

Both father and son, Jacob Ford, Senior, and Jacob Ford, Junior, died in January, 1777—the son on the eleventh and the father on the nineteenth. The widow of Colonel Ford, Senior, died in July of the same year.

Both are said to have been enterprising and successful business-men. I have heard it said that the father's estate was estimated at seventy thousand pounds.

Colonel Ford, Junior, was the owner of the Mount-Hope mining property, four miles North of Rockaway, including some two thousand acres of land. He built, in 1770, the stone mansion, at Mount-Hope, which still remains; and also the forge, at Denmark, three miles farther North. In 1772, he sold his Mount-Hope property, to John Jacob Faesch, a native of Hesse Cassel, who had been sent by the London Company to manage their iron-mills and mines at Ringwood, Long Pond, and Charlottenburg; but was superseded by Robert Erskine.

Colonel Ford, Junior, petitioned the Provincial Congress for the privilege of erecting a powder-mill, on the Whippany-river, not far from Morristown. His Petition was granted; and he built a Mill, which furnished a large amount of "good merchantable powder" to our armies. He entered into the contest with Great Britain, with great spirit; and was commissioned as Colonel, by the Provincial Congress of New Jersey. During the dreadful Fall of 1776, when the American Army retreated through New Jersey and crossed the Delaware, he was on constant duty; and his health was so broken, by exposure and fatigue, that, being seized with violent illness, whilst on parade, on the last day of the year 1776, he died on the eleventh of January, as the record of Moses Tuttle has it, or on the tenth, as Judge Ford states it, in his paper, which is now published for the first time.

I am not able to state whether the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, received a pension or not. She was residing in "the Ford Mansion," when Washington led his army into Winter-quarters, at Morristown, in December, 1779. Her house was selected as his head-quarters; and, in this manner, her name is forever associated with that of the Father of his country.

The late Judge Gabriel H. Ford was the son of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, and his wife Theodosia Johnes.

With these desultory statements, I submit the two documents.

Wabash College, Ind. Joseph F. Tuttle.]
April 5th, 1871.

I.

Extract from the Diary of the late Hon Gabriel H. Ford, of Morristown.

Thursday 21 June, 1849.

A census was taken, in the years 1771 & 1772, in the British Provinces of America, and deposited, after the Revolution, as public archives, at Washington; but their room becoming much wanted, those of each Province were delivered to the Members of Congress, to cull what they chose, preparatory to a burning of all the rest. General Mahlon Dickinson, then a member from New-Jersey, selected some from the County of Morris, and sent me, yesterday, a copy, *verbatim*, of one entry, as follows: "Widow Elizabeth Lindsley, mother of Colonel "Jacob Ford (Sr.) was born in the city of Axford, "in old England; came into Philadelphia, when "there was but one house in it, and into this "Province when she was but one year and a "half old—deceased April 21st, 1772, aged 91 "years and one month."

I always understood, in the family, by tradition from her (whose short stature and slender, bent person I clearly recall, having lived in the same house, with her and with my parents, in my grandfather's family, at her death and before it) that her Father fled from England when there was a universal dread of returning Popery and persecution, three years before the death of Charles the Second, A. D., 1682, and two years before the accession of James the Second, in 1684; that, while landing his goods at Philadelphia, he fell from a plank, into the Delaware-river, and was drowned, between the ship and the shore, leaving a family of young children in the wilderness; that she had several children by her first husband, whose name was Ford, but none by her

second husband, whose name was Lindley, at whose death she was taken into the family of her son, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, and treated with filial tenderness, the remaining years of her life, which were many.

I am in the eighty-fifth year (since January last) of my age being born in 1765—and was seven years old at her death.

II.

Copy of a paper, in the handwriting of the late Judge Gabriel H. Ford, of Morristown, N.J., and now in the possession of his son, Henry A. Ford, Esqr., touching the application of the widow of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, for a pension.

The Act which was passed in New Jersey, on the tenth day of June, 1779, in the fourth Section, contains a recital and enactment, in substance, as follows: "And, whereas, justice requires that "those unfortunate women who have lost or "may hereafter lose their husbands, in the ser- "vice of their country, should receive a compen- "sation in some measure equivalent to the ben- "efits that would have resulted to them from "the care and maintenance of such husbands, "Be it therefore enacted, that the widow of "every commissioned officer of the regular fore- "es or Militia of this State, who, since the nine- "teenth of April, 1775, has fallen or, hereafter, "shall fall, in battle, or otherwise lose his life, "whilst in the service of the State or of the "United States, shall receive, during her widow- "hood, one half the monthly pay of her hus- "band, from the time of his death."

The Jersey statute-book contains a note respecting this Section, which Note is this: "The "Resolutions of Congress recommending this "measure were published after the passing of "this Act. I have never been able to find those "Resolutions though they are most probably en- "tered in the Journals of Congress."

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, by their Commission dated the twelfth of January, 1776, constituted and appointed Jacob Ford, Junior, First Colonel of the First Regiment of Militia, in the County of Morris, by virtue of which Commission, he held and executed that office until the thirty-first of December, 1776, when his constitution gave way under the pressure of duty—being then seized with delirium and fever, that terminated his life in ten days, on the tenth day of January, 1777.

The proof of actual service is as follows: *Certificate of Timothy Jones, Jr., Surgeon of the Regiment*—that, when the Regiment, in the beginning of January, 1777, marched from quarters, at Morristown, Colonel Ford was left behind, among the sick, where the Surgeon stayed and attended him, until the tenth of the month, when he died, having exposed himself, that Fall and Winter, beyond what his constitution could bear, in making what was commonly denominated "the Mud-rounds" and, afterwards, in constant service on the lines, with the troops, till their retreat to Morristown, where they went into quarters and where he died.

The Certificate of Brigadier-general William Maxwell, who certifies thus: "I was ordered by "His Excelleney, General Washington, about "the latter end of December, 1776, to take "command of the troops at Morristown. Gen- "eral Washington informed me they would "consist of some Continentals, with two Regi- "ments of Militia or Levies. I received the "Continentals from General Mc Dougal; and "applied to Colonel Ford, Junior, for the troops "under his command; and, while he was col- "lecting some and preparing those he had for "service, he was taken sick, during duty, on "parade, of which sickness I was informed, "shortly after, he died. I marched off his "troops to the lines of the enemy, under the care "of his other officers; and most part remained "with me, there, during the Winter."

The Certificate of Joseph Lewis, Quarter-master of Colonel Ford's Battalion of Militia and Levies, that the Provision returns were signed by Colonel Ford, up to the thirtieth of December, 1776; that provisions were drawn for him, up to the sixth of January, 1777; that he died on the tenth of the same month; and that, during his sickness, the Returns were made out as follows: "*Provision Return for part of Col-* "*onel Ford's Batallion of the three months* "*Levies, commanded by Lieut. Col. Spencer.*"

The case from parol evidence, will appear as follows:—That, after serving a considerable time, on the lines, marching and counter-marching, about Springfield, Elizabethtown, Westfield, and Chatham, they retreated, on the twenty-second of December, from Chatham, to Morristown, where they went into Quarters. There, General Maxwell took the principal command; and that, on the morning of the thirty-first, Colonel Ford being seized with a delirium in his head, on the actual Parade, he was borne off by a couple of soldiers; after which he never rose from his bed. That a double guard was mounted, before his door, during his sickness. That he was attended by the Regimental Surgeon; and, having died on the tenth of January, he had a military funeral, by order of the Commander-in-chief, who had just marched into Winter-quarters, at the same place.

Applications to the Jersey Legislature, for half-pay, at this date, are rejected by them for this reason: That they now become State losses, the State having settled with the United States, who stood eventually bound for it. Hence the reme-

dy now is, by direct application to the United States, on the ground, as is supposed, of those Resolutions of Congress, alluded to in our Note, in our statute-book. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1794, Elias Boudinot, Esq., presented a Petition from Mrs. Ford, for an allowance of half-pay, which Petition, Mr. Boudinot says, was referred to the Treasury or War Department, where it is likely to be found.

If the claim cannot be substantiated upon the United States, by reason of his being a Militia Officer, still it may be supported on another ground.

An Act passed the twenty-seventh of November, 1776, for the raising of four Battalions or Regiments, which were in Continental pay, as may be inferred from a note in our Statute books, which says, "The recruits were allowed "six dollars bounty, over and above the Conti- "neutal Pay, and were continued in service, "until the first of April, 1777."

It is presumed that the Minutes of the Joint-meeting of the Legislature and the records of the State will show that he was appointed Colonel of one of these Battalions, or Regiments, though the Commission is lost or mislaid. But it fully appears that, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1776, warrants were issued, under his hand, to the Captains, for recruiting one of these Battalions; and they recruited and served accordingly. That the appointment of the Surgeon was by him, who served accordingly. So also was the Quarter-master. That the Provision-returns were made for Colonel Ford's Levies and, upon his death, that Lieutenant-colonel Spencer, who had been second in command, became Colonel of the Regiment, and the former Major became Licutenant-colonel.

Accordingly, Mr. Boudinot was furnished with two Petitions claiming half-pay, in one case, as the widow of a Militia Colonel, and in the other as a Colonel of Levies—requesting to put the claim on either ground, as should appear, on enquiry, to be the most promising. It is not improbable that, by way of superseding the necessity and trouble of enquiry, he lodged both Petitions in the office. But this is a conjecture. Since that time he has once, and perhaps twice, said, that he expected the Secretary would shortly report upon it.*

The foregoing facts are capable of the most ample proof, if, on enquiry, either of those cases entitle the petitioners to half-pay.

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* As Congress, in the year 1794, were passing limitations upon almost every kind of private claims, it was judged necessary to petition, then; and Mr. Boudinot replied that he had put the claim in such condition as to be out of danger of being barred.

III.—THE EARLY BAPTIS
NEW YORK.—Continuei

By Revs. A. Hosmer an

Fifth session of the Otsego A
at Exeter on the 4th and 5th o

Weduesday, September 4, 179

Association convened. Ser
v. 20. by Eld'r Furman.
churches were read.

State of the churches since l

Dismissed	127	
Exeluded	22	Added
Died	15	Decrea
Deercase	164	Inereas

The following churches were
at this session, (viz) Brotherto
3d Norwich, Sangerfield, Sel
and Woreester.

A sketch of the history of th

BROTHERTOW

IN the year 1776, David
others moved to the westward
previously obtained a cession
Oneida Indians: upon which t
settlement, and set up a religiou
was carried on by singing, pra
tion. In the time of the r
they were greatly distressed by
deprived of their cattle and m
effects; so that they were fo
their settlement and retire to
At the conclusion of the war
their former habitations; soo
arose between them and the O
their lands; which was pro
trouble: many other difficulti
from the English on accoun
which were discouraging; but
God protected them.

Through all their trials th
religious meetings; and on t
1798 four persons were bapti
sons, and they agreed to sen
August 23d 1798, a council
churches in Fairfield-Palatin
town, Seuyler & Whitestowu
convened, who after inquiring
stances, gave them fellowshi
Christ: their number was twe
lies west from Springfield, di
miles.

GERFIELD.

a number of persons in the
set up a religious meeting
At this time there were
l under awakenings; they
etings through the winter;
ich there arose such opposi-
otists having any share in the
. that on the 14th of April,
s met in conference at the
e, and agreed to hold up a
ist order; the May following
baptized; at this time there
dness in the minds of many,
n increased, and some more
summer and autumn. Nov.
reed to call a council to give
and likewise agreed to give
settle with them. Dec. 19th
ies in Fairfield Palatine,
s, Hamilton and Augusta,
l, and gave them fellowship
ster relation; their number
This church lies westerly
bout 25 miles. A small set-
inity, of about a dozen fami-
ated in the pædo baptist
visited by the Lord, which
urn their attention to things
: the consequence was that
were converted to God, and
t one or two) to the Baptist
of whom have joined with

ER SHORT LOTS.

baptist professors living on
ts, did on the 25th of Feb.
a church, agreeable to the
llowship of a council; their
teen.
rit of the Lord moved upon
ral, and numbers came up to
ord against the mighty. In
s their number increased to
urch lies northwesterly from
t about 25 miles.

RD NORWICH.

the first church in Norwich
uncil to advise with them on
rch: accordingly on the 23d
ie north church in Burling-
h in Oxford, met in council,
ng into their circumstances
ship in their division; ac-
members were set off and
embodied into a new church, and received the fellowship of the council as the 3d baptist church in Norwich. This church lies southwestward from Springfield distant about 46 miles.

WORCESTER.

IN the latter end of the year 1798, Elders Hosmer and Lawton visited a number of Baptist professors living on the Susquehannah river, in the towns of Suffrage and Worcester: they were advised to get into a circumstance of embodying into a church. Eld. Hosmer baptized one person, and there appeared a pleasing attention among the people. They continued their meetings and Eld. Lawton frequently visited them, and baptized three persons. After struggling through many difficulties, they did on the twenty-first day of August 1799 receive the fellowship of a council consisting of the North and Third Churches in Burlington, the churches in Butternuts and Kortright. Their number was eight; since which time eight have been added. This church lies southerly from Springfield, distant about 26 miles.

SECOND HAMILTON.

FROM this church we have received no particular information.

Extracts of letters. 1799.

Butternuts. "It is with great satisfaction that "we inform you of the goodness of God unto "us. In September last the Lord began his "work among us, his power was great and the "effects thereof conspicuous; sinners were "alarmed, souls converted, and the people of "God rejoiced. Children forsook their toys, "the youth their gaudy baubles, the middle-"aged their undue worldly pursuits, and the "old their long confirmed traditionary habits; "and all with united hearts bowed to the "sceptre of prince Emanuel; willingly sub-"mitted to his government and came into "obedience to his laws, and with joyful hearts "consented to walk in his statutes. The "work was in no one instance attended with "scarcely the least symptoms of enthusiasm, "but remarkably regular; and passions at no "time exceeded the bounds of decency and "good order: we feel ourselves under the great-"est obligations to praise the name of God, "for his goodness to us in this and many other "respects; but alas we feel ourselves deficient "in making suitable returns to our God for all "his goodness exhibited. There is not that

THE

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I.—WASHINGTON, IN MORRIS-COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.*

BY REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH COLLEGE, INDIANA.

The County of Morris, in the State of New Jersey, was settled "about 1710," by families from Newark and Elizabethtown. The main object attracting them thither was the iron ore which had been discovered in a mountain-range, a few miles West of Morristown. During the three quarters of a century which preceded the War of the Revolution, the settlements which had been made in Hanover were multiplied, spreading over the territory now occupied by the Townships of Chatham, Morris, Mendham, Chester, Rockaway and Pequannock. Several forges were built on the Whippany and Rockaway-rivers; and a small "slitting mill," contrary to the arbitrary laws of the Mother Country, was carrying on a contraband business. As early as about 1770—if not earlier—a blast-furnace was built, and named "Hibernia," some twelve miles North of Morristown. The noted Samuel Ford, a counterfeiter, who "left his country for his country's "good," was engaged in this; and, afterwards, Lord Stirling became its proprietor. In 1772, John Jacob Faesch, a native of Hesse Cassel, bought a small tract, at Mount Hope, of Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., and a large surrounding tract of the heirs of the East Jersey Proprietaries, and built a blast-furnace, which became, with the "Hibernia" furnace, a most efficient auxiliary to our Army, in furnishing balls and grape. There is some reason to suppose that some cannon were also cast at "Hibernia."

Up to the period of the Revolution, the population was of New England origin, coming from Newark, Long Island, or, directly, from the New England States, and entered deeply into the feelings and struggles which agitated the Eastern Colonies. It is true that the eastern part of Pequannoek, on the plains which bordered the Passaic and Pequannock-rivers, and in Washington township, along a branch of the Raritan, the Hollanders predominated. Whilst many of these did not share in the opinions which produced the Revolution, in fact, were entirely averse to that movement, the masses of the Dutch were patriots. In 1776, the cultivation of the soil occupied the attention of those who resided in the eastern and southern Townships of the County; whilst, in the remaining Townships, the manufacture of iron was the main pursuit.

The County is one of the most varied and beautiful, in its scenery, in the whole State. On the eastern borders are the Short Hills and Long Hill, a range of highlands commanding a magnifieent prospect of the country, North, as far almost as to the Orange-connty line; East, as far as New York and the Narrows; and, South, as far as New Brunswick. The prospect from these Hills, in a clear afternoon, blending into one charming landscape, woodlands and meadows, hills and mountains, farms, villages, towns and cities, ponds, rivers, and the entrance to the ocean, is one which ean never be forgotten. West of Morristown, there are ranges of mountains traversing the County, from North-east to South-west, and containing incalculable amounts of magnetic iron-ore, and abounding in valleys finely adapted to the plough. One thing is observable in the topography of the County, that its ranges of hills and mountains are so disposed as to make it easy to arrange beacon-fires, which, in a very short time, would alarm the whole County This fact, I shall have occasion to mark in another place, as one of good importance, during the War, and as investing these localities with thrilling interest to all succeeding generations.

* In the year 1854, the anthor of this article, at the reqnest of several gentlemen of Morristown, prepared two Lectures on the history of Washington's two Winters in Morris-county. These were atterwards re-written, and read before the New Jersey Historical Society. The commendation bestowed on the paper, by that Society, led the late Washington Irving, whilst preparing his *Life of Washington*, to ask for the loan of it, which he referred to, in one of his volumes, in a complimentary manner. Afterwards, Mr. George Bancroft sent for the mannscript. Not hearing from the article, I wrote him; and his answer indicated that it had failed to reach its destination. Afterwards, the editor of the *Harper's Monthly* solicited a copy for that Magazine; and, from the original notes, a *condensed sketch* was prepared. This was handsomely illustrated and published. Some months after this, the original article was found; and it is pnblished, in fnll, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. —J. F. T.

Until within a few years, among the mountains of Morris, were living many old men and women who had passed through the trying scenes of the Revolution, which had made so deep an impression on their memories that, very naturally, it became the delight of their life to repeat the story of their sufferings and victories. In 1845, in the Presbyterian Congregation of Rockaway, alone, there were some eighteen persons over eighty years of age. One of these died in 1852, in his ninety-third year; another, in 1850, in his ninety-first year. Both had served in the Revolutionary War. Several women have died within five years, who were ninety years old or upwards. In 1854, there were two persons at the respective ages of eighty-eight and eighty-nine. In Morristown, were two brothers, Edward Condict, Esq. and the Hon. Lewis Condict, whose memory reached back to the period and events of the Revolution. In addition to such venerable witnesses, there were many descendants of those who shared in the trials and conflicts of that time. The children of such as Captain Stephen Jackson, of Rockaway, Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., Hon. Lewis Condict, Captain William Tuttle, and others, of Morristown; Captain David Thompson, of Mendham; Aaron Kitchel, of Hanover; and many others of the same period and opinions, still reside in Morris and remember well "what "their fathers told them," concerning that unparalleled struggle for freedom.

For years, it was a peculiar pleasure to the writer of this sketch to converse with the actual witnesses of the Revolution, or those who had heard, from such, the facts and traditions of the Revolution. These have been written down for preservation; and the principal object of this article is to weave, into one narrative, as far as possible, that part of these records which illustrate the history of Washington, during the two Winters he passed in Morris-county—the Winters of 1776–'7 and 1779–'80. Excepting the brief and, certainly, for local interest, the quite meager sketch of Lossing, in his admirable *Field Book of the Revolution*, I am acquainted with no book or pamphlet which pretends to give even an outline history of those two memorable Winters. Nor do I pretend to give a complete sketch; but only to add facts and traditions which may aid in a work so desirable, since everything which serves to bring out, distinctly, the trials of the patriots and, especially, the character of Washington, during that period, immortal in history, is valuable.

Before sketching the sojourn of Washington, in Morris-county, during the Winter of 1776–7, it will be important and pertinent to glance at the events which preceded it.

The Summer and Fall of 1776 had been marked with disheartening reverses, on the part of the Americans. In August, General Greene, next to Washington, the ablest officer in the Army, and, at that time, in command on Long Island, was "confined to his bed with a raging "fever," "but he hoped, through the assistance "of Providence, to be able to ride, before the "presence of the enemy may make it absolutely "necessary." His wish was not realized; and, on the twenty-seventh of August, the disastrous Battle of Long Island was fought. Washington "is said to have witnessed the rout and "slaughter of his troops with the keenest an-"guish," being unable to render any assistance without the greatest peril to his whole Army. Meanwhile, Washington says, "our people con-"tinue to be very sickly," even "one-fourth of "the whole;" and, "during the heavy storms, "are much distressed, not having a sufficiency "of tents to cover them." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, iv., 64, 68; Ramsay's *Washington*, 37.) Between eleven and twelve hundred men were either killed or taken prisoners; and, among the latter, Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling. On the thirtieth of August, all the military stores, artillery, and nine thousand men were removed from Long Island to New York; and, with such skill was this manœuvre performed, that the enemy, only six hundred yards distant, did not discover what was going on, until the last boat was pushing from the shore. "So intense," says Sparks, "was the "anxiety of Washington, so unceasing his ex-"ertions, that for forty-eight hours he did not "close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from "his horse." "The darkness of the night and "heavy fog in the morning" were good blessings from the God of battles.

During this trying period, Washington realized the manly words he addressed to his troops, that "each one, for himself, resolving "to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles "of Heaven on so just a cause, would behave "with bravery and resolution." (Ramsay, 40.) That defeat "dispirited too great a proportion "of our troops," and "great numbers of the "Militia have gone off, in some instances, by "whole Regiments;" and yet, he says, "every "power I possess shall be exerted to serve "the cause."—words amply verified by his actions. (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 73, 74.)

In September, he had the mortification of seeing two Regiments show too great disrelish for the "smell of gunpowder;" and General Greene, now "able to ride," wrote that "his "Excellency was so vexed at the infamous "conduct of the troops, that he sought death "rather than life;" still, posted strongly on

Harlem Heights, he hopes, against hope, that "the enemy would meet with a defeat in case "of an attack, if the generality of our troops "would behave with tolerable bravery."—(Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 94, 95.) In fact, there was something about this man which seemed to inspire his victorious enemies with dread; so that, notwithstanding one vicissitude after another, not of the most comforting nature, his bearing was calm and self-reliant. At last, he began that ever-memorable retreat through the Jerseys. On the nineteenth of November, he was at Haekensaek, experiencing "great "mortification" at the capture of Fort Washington, with two thousand men, a good deal of artillery, and some of the "best arms we had." He is "wearied to death with the retrograde "motion of things, and solemnly protests to his "brother that a pecuniary reward of twenty "thousand pounds a year would not induee "him to undergo what he does;" and yet this was not inconsistent with the words he had written before, that he was heart-sick to "re-"flect that a brother's sword had been sheathed "in a brother's breast, and that the once happy "and peaceful plains of America are either to be "drenched in blood or inhabited with slaves. "Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesi-"tate in his choice?" (Sparks's *Washington*, i., 137; iv., 183, 184.)

From Hackensack, he retreated with his little Army, to Aquackanock; thence to Newark, where he halted from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh. On the thirtieth, he was at New Brunswick; on the third of December, at Trenton; and, on the eighth, at "Mr. Berkeley's "summer-seat," on the West side of the Delaware, with the great resolution burning in his soul, like vestal fires, to live a freeman, or, if need be, to die for so noble an aim, and, in fact, his eye, at that time, glancing Westward, as he says, "if overpowered, we must cross the "Alleghany mountains." (Ramsay, 51.) Those who clung to his fortunes, caught his spirit; for, whilst there, West of the Delaware, a Connecticut officer wrote very spicy words to his friend, at home, "to advise the old and young "to be in readiness. *Push the affair of good* "*muskets;* let them carry a full ounce ball; "but I think a three and a half feet barrel is "long enough, *with a good bayonet.* Depend "upon it, to avoid the worst, it's necessary to be "well and martially equipped." (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1275.)

This retreat through New Jersey, in November and December of 1776, has usually been called, by the veterans of that day, "the Mud "Rounds," which is, to this day, a familiar phrase in that State. It was so called, on account of the roads which, during the first part of the march, were almost impassable quagmires; which became frozen before the march was ended—an awful road, indeed, for barefooted soldiers, of whom there were many in the diminished ranks of Washington. I have conversed with several soldiers who were in the Army, during that retreat, and have read the copious notes of the late venerable man, Doctor Lewis Condict, of Morristown, which were taken from the lips of Revolutionary Soldiers applying for pensions; and all who were in that march, alluded to the "Mud Rounds," as a time of very peculiar suffering and hardship. Old David Gordon, of Rockaway, who, at the age of ninety-two, was as eheerful as a bird, frequently spoke of that march with a shudder; and he was better off than many of his companions, for he had shoes on his feet. Their tents and clothing were insufficient to protect them; the roads were either muddy or frozen; the rain-storms were severe; and the inhabitants, along the route, panic-stricken, supposing the cause of Independence to be ruined. And yet the wasted Regiments of Washington never distrusted him, whose virtue and greatness shone resplendently in that darkest hour. To appear calm and confident, as if he were pursuing the foe, instead of conducting a retreat, this was heroism; this was faith in the future; and, at this point, the fame of Washington received "the image and superscription" which shall challenge the veneration of mankind, in the ages to come.

It is unneeessary for me to reeount the victories of Trenton and Princeton; but, at this point, may be related a well-authenticated fact showing on what little things the great events in history apparently depend. It is generally conceded that the victory of Trenton, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of Deeember, 1776, was the crisis in our national destiny; but few are aware how near the beam of destiny was to deciding adversely to us. The anecdote I have received from that zealous antiquarian, Doctor Charles G. McChesney, for many years the accomplished Secretary of State, for New Jersey. He tells me that the two-story brick house is still standing at the North-west corner of Warren and State-streets, in Trenton, in which Colonel Rahl, the brave but dissipated Commander of the Hessians, with a select circle of friends, was spending that Christmas night, in drinking and gambling, never dreaming of danger from the dispirited enemy hiding on the other side of the Delaware. Whilst Washington and his troops were eontending with the fierce storm of snow and hail and the drifting ice fields of the Delaware, the Mercenary, Rahl, was doing some-

thing quite different, for which America has great reason to be thankful. A Tory, on the Jersey side of the river, discovered signs which led him to suppose that Washington was crossing for an object which could not well be mistaken. The Tory wrote a short letter, warning Rahl of his danger, and dispatched a messenger with it, directing him to give it to no one but the Hessian Commander. On inquiring at head-quarters for Rahl, he was directed to the house in which he was carousing. A negro servant opened the door, but refused to admit him, according to explicit directions from Rahl, to admit no one; but, as the informer seemed so urgent, he promised to deliver the note to him, immediately, and actually did deliver it. This was in ample time to have prevented a surprise, but, most fortunately, just then, heated with drinking, he was distributing the cards for a fresh game, and, thrusting the ominous note into his pocket, forgot it. The same news, however, were brought him, a few hours afterward, and in a shape not to be thrust into his pocket; and he found, to his sorrow, that his recklessness had enabled Washington to accomplish a brilliant achievement for his own renown and the salvation of his country. If the pernicious vices of drunkenness and gambling ever deserved gratitude, as the indirect means of great good, this would seem to be the case!

After the Battle of Trenton, Washington again crossed, with his Army, to the West bank of the Delaware. The enemy was in force, at New Brunswick and at Princeton. The weather had become so cold that, on the second of January, the Americans recrossed the river and took possession of Trenton. On the third of January, the enemy attacked Washington, on the Assanpink, which runs through Trenton, but were repulsed with considerable loss. That night, Washington executed a brilliant manœuvre, in a masterly manner. The campfires were kindled along his whole line, as if the battle were to be renewed in the morning; but the Americans silently withdrew, towards Princeton, to make the fourth of January a memorable day, by another cheering victory, attended with one incident, at the time, considered emblematic. The portrait of George the Third graced the walls of the College Chapel; and, whilst the enemy were defending themselves, in the venerable College, a random cannon-shot passed into the window and severed the King's head, in the picture. It is said, that the portrait of Washington now occupies the very frame from which the headless George was so rudely ejected.

"Weeping may endure for a night, but joy "cometh in the morning:" the retreat through the Jerseys, called the "Mud Rounds," by those who experienced its severe hardships, was the fore-runner of the victories of Trenton, Assanpink, and Princeton. Forthwith, we find a more cheerful tone in Washington's letters. Whilst retreating, he declared "the conduct of "the Jerseys has been most infamous," not making sufficient allowance for the fearful pressure of circumstances; but, on the fifth of January, he, in effect, recalls the harsh expressions of the eighteenth of December: "These "victories," he said, "have fired the Eastern "Regiments with ardor to protract their terms "of service;" "and the Militia are pouring in, "from all quarters, and only want veteran "troops to lead them on;" "the enemy have "evacuated the country below; they went off "in the greatest hurry and confusion."—(Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 230, 253, 258.)

It will not be out of place to state here, that many of the captured Hessians were sent to different parts of the country, to be put to work. Thirty of them were employed by John Jacob Faesch, about his Furnace, at Mount Hope, in Morris-county, the Government having furnished him with muskets sufficient for his American workmen to use in keeping the prisoners at their duty. Some of these prisoners died and were buried at an old graveyard on the West slope of the Mount Hope range, half a mile West of the works. Several of them became attached to the country, and concluded to remain. Their descendants are found, to this day, in the vicinity of Rockaway.

Some suppose, and so state, that no portion of the American Army was encamped in the vicinity of Morristown, until after the Battle of Princeton; but, on the twentieth of December, 1776, Washington wrote to the President of Congress that he had "directed the three "Regiments from Ticonderoga to halt at Mor-"ristown, in Jersey (where I understand about "eight hundred Militia had collected), in or-"der to inspirit the inhabitants, and, as far as "possible, to cover that part of the country." These were "Eastern Regiments," led to Morristown, under the command of Colonel Vose, about the middle of December. In a letter to Washington, dated December 19th, 1776, General McDougall says he came to Morristown, the day after General Lee was captured, at Baskinridge, which was on the thirteenth of that month; and that Vose arrived at Morristown, "day before yesterday," which was the seventeenth of December. From the same letter, we learn that Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, had, at that time, under his command, seven hundred Militia. The three Eastern Regiments were "Greatons Regiment, about 250 "men; Bond's do., 100; Porter's do., 170; "in all 520 men." At his own request, McDou-

gal, the General Officer at this station, was superseded by General William Maxwell of Sussex-county, New Jersey. The people of Morris-county were greatly alarmed, and had reason to be; for "Colonel Ford's Militia had "an engagement with the enemy at Spring-"field," on the fourteenth of December; and "he expected it would be renewed the next "morning, to gain the pass of the mountains." The engagement was not renewed; but the enemy, under General Leslie, retreated "to-"wards Spank-Town." In this first engagement, in which the Morris-county Militia distinguished themselves, the celebrated John Cleves Symmes—a pioneer of Ohio—participated, with a detachment of Militia from Sussex-county. (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1296; *Sussex Centennial*, 62.) The regular troops were intended to join the Army of Washington; but the enemy made such demonstrations of their designs to reach Morristown, where was an invaluable Powder-mill, that they were ordered to remain, to assist in keeping the enemy away. Morris-county, at this time, had a Regiment in the regular service, at the North, under Colonel William Winds, which had materially diminished its means of defence; and this was one reason why Washington consented that the few New England troops should remain at Morristown, at a time when he needed them so greatly.

On the twenty-second of December, Colonel Ford conducted the Militia from Chatham to Morristown; and, from the fact that he was on parade on the thirty-first of the month, it is evident they had not been disbanded. Probably they were kept together until Washington's Army arrived from the Battle of Princeton.

Inasmuch as this gentleman bore a prominent part in the affairs of the State, up to the time of his death, having been honored with several responsible offices in the State and Army, and, furthermore, as the name is connected with that of Washington's Winter-quarters, in 1779-'80, a few facts concerning him will be interesting.

In the Diary of the late Hon. Gabriel H. Ford, son of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior., was found the following entry:—"THURSDAY, 21 "*June*, 1849. A census was taken in the years "1771 and 1772, in the British Provinces of "America, and deposited, after the Revolution, "as public archives at Washington; but their "room becoming much wanted, those of each "Province were delivered to the members of "Congress, from it, to cull what they chose, "preparatory to a burning of all the rest; "Gen. Mahlon Dickerson, then a member from "New Jersey, selected some from the County "of Morris, and sent me, yesterday, a copy, "verbatim, of one entry, as follows:—'*Widow* "'*Elizabeth Lindsley, mother of Col. Jacob Ford,* "'(*Senior*), *was born in the City of Axford, in* "'*Old England; came into Philadelphia when* "'*there was but one house in it; and into this* "'*Province when she was but one year and a* "'*half old. Deceased April 21st*, 1772, *aged* 91 "'*years and one month.*' I always understood, "in the family, by tradition from her, (whose "short stature and slender, bent person I clear-"ly recall, having lived in the same house with "her and with my parents, in my grandfather's "family, at her death and before it,) that her "father fled from England when there was a "universal dread of returning Popery and per-"secution, three years before the death of "Charles the Second, A. D., 1682, and two "years before accession of James the Sec-"ond, in 1684; that while landing his goods, at "Philadelphia, he fell from a plank into the "Delaware river, and was drowned between the "ship and the shore, leaving a family of young "children in the wilderness; that she had sev-"eral children by her first husband, whose "name was Ford, but none by her second hus-"band, whose name was Lindsley, at whose "death she was taken into the family of her "son, Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., and treated with "filial tenderness, the remaining years of her "life, which were many. I am in the 85th "year (since January last) of my age, being "born in 1765, and was seven years old at her "death."

This interesting item is in a clear, beautiful handwriting, quite remarkable in a man eighty-four years old. The family name of Mrs. Lindsley and the origin of her first husband I have not seen. From the earliest organization of Morris county, in 1738, her son, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, was a leading man. In 1740, he was one of the Judges of "the Inferior Court "of Common Pleas for Morris-county;" and, for many years, he appears to have delivered the Charges to the Grand Jury, and was not unfrequently a member of the lower House in the Provincial Assembly. Being a man of thorough business habits and industry, he was successful in accumulating property. His second son and name-sake was born in 1738, and when the Revolutionary War began, he was one of the most enterprising and successful business men in the County. In 1769, he had boldly ventured some fourteen miles into the mountains, North-west of Morristown, to build a Forge for manufacturing iron. In 1770, he built the old stone house at Mount Hope; and, in 1772, he sold the property to John Jacob Faesch, who erected a blast-furnace on it. Previous to the

War, he had been entrusted with some difficult missions by the State, which he executed to general satisfaction. (*American Archives*, V., iii., 290, 292, 293, 564, etc.) But the greatest service he rendered his country was as the builder of the Powder-mill, on the Whippany-river, near Morristown. Early in 1776, as may be inferred from a manuscript in the New Jersey Historical Society, he "offered to erect a "Powder-mill, in the County of Morris, for the "Makeing of gunpowder, an article so essential "at the present time;" and that the Provincial Congress "agreed to lend him two thousand "pounds of the Publick money for one year, "without interest, on his giving satisfactory "security for the the same, to be repaid within "the time of one year in good Merchantable "Powder"—the first installment "of one ton of "good Merchantable Powder," to be paid "on first of July next, and one ton per month "thereafter till the sum of two thousand "pounds be paid." (*Boteler Papers*, in the New Jersey Historical Society.) This mill was forthwith erected; and there is good reason to suppose that some of Colonel Ford's "good "Merchantable Powder" proved a valuable auxiliary in the Battles of Springfield, Trenton, Assanpink, and Princeton. The fact is interesting as a part of the history of theRevolutionary struggle, and as showing one reason for the repeated but fruitless attempts of the enemy to reach Morristown. From the letters of General Heath and General McDougal, and the modest letters of Colonel Ford himself, it is evident that he had done good service to his country; and this service was much applauded, at the time. (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1259, 1278, 1419.)

Colonel Ford continued on duty until the thirty-first of December, when, on parade, he was taken ill of the sickness of which he died on the eleventh of January, 1777, nearly thirty-nine years of age. By order of General Washington, who, a few days before, had reached Morristown, this gallant officer's remains were buried with the honors of war. It is not without interest here, to state the fact that the father, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, died on the nineteenth of the same month. Both families, at that time, were living in the house which Washington occupied as his Head-quarters, the second Winter in Morristown. Colonel Ford, Junior's widow was a daughter of the venerable Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in Morristown, the excellent and patriotic Rev. Doctor Timothy Johnes. This lady was afterwards honored as the hostess of Washington.

After the Battle of Princeton, the British went into Winter-quarters, at New Brunswick, and the Americans, at Morristown. What was the number of troops with Washington, I cannot state; but it was small, as is plain from his letters. On reaching Morristown, Washington wrote, "the situation is by no means favorable "to our views, and as soon as the purposes are "answered for which we came, I think to re-"move, though I confess I do not know how "we shall procure covering for our men, else-"where." (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 264.) And yet, all things considered, it may be doubted whether a better position could have been chosen, situated as it is among ranges of mountains extending from the Delaware to the Hudson. Repeated trials proved it to be finely adapted to repelling the enemy, who could not approach, in any direction, without the movement being detected and the invasion communicated to a highly patriotic population, by signal-guns and beacon-fires. The means of communicating with the posts on the Delaware and Hudson were very easy; and, besides all this, large portions of the surrounding country were cultivated, affording food and shelter to the soldiers. The fact that Washington wintered the second time at Morristown, proves that he had changed his views of it. The character of the County may be inferred from the fact that Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, removed his family to Pareippany, a few miles North-east of Morristown, for their greater security; and, for years, the house he rented was known as "The Governor's House."

General Washington reached Morristown on the seventh of January, 1777, and took up his quarters at a tavern owned and kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, the commander of a Squadron of Light Horse, which did efficient service. This was a two story house, on the West side of the Morristown Green; and it is still standing, but greatly changed. A hall passed through the centre of the house; and, on the South side of this hall, were two rooms, communicating with each other by a door. The front room was occupied by Washington for a general office, sitting-room, and parlor, and the back room for his sleeping apartment. These two rooms have since been thrown into one, which is still used as a store. This old building has been refitted, and is likely to stand many years, as a memento of the greatest man ever sheltered under its roof. From this house, issued the noble letters of Washington, that Winter, which were so efficient in promoting the cause of our national independence.

"The Magazine" was on the South side of the Green, on a lot where now stands the Washington Hall; and tradition says that, frequently, waggons, apparently loaded with casks

of powder and guarded by soldiers, might be seen passing from the Powder-mill to the Magazine; but many of these casks contained *sand*, in order to deceive spies, who would thus give a flattering account of this part of our military stores.

In the North-west corner of the Green, stood the old Court-house and Jail, so famous as the common prison of Tories caught, not only in Morris, but Essex, Bergen, and Sussex-counties.

Just East of the present building of the First Presbyterian Church, stood the old Meeting-house, which, as we shall see, was used, this Winter, as a Hospital for the Army. Following the street, towards the Depot, we see the house occupied by the Minister, Doctor Johnes —it is still standing—and half a mile further on, we reach a beautiful swell of land, commanding magnificent scenery, in the midst of which is the "Ford Mansion."

Taking the road which goes North from the Green, in less than a mile, we come to the identical house, built by Lewis Condict, a distinguished patriot and, through the War, an indefatigable member of the State Privy Council. Taking the road which goes West, about two miles, you reach the site of the house used by General Knox, of the Artillery, the second Winter in Morristown. On the South-east corner of the Green, where is now the store of Mr. William M. Lindsley, was the office of the Commissary. At this time, Morristown was a mere village, but surrounded by a fine farming region, which was quite thickly peopled.

It is interesting and affecting to glean, from reliable sources, the facts which indicate the character and condition of the people in Morris-county, at the time Washington came among them. The records of the Courts show that the pecuniary affairs of the people were very much embarassed. The masses of the people were Whigs; but there were some Tories. Thomas Millege, a leading man, residing in Hanover, was elected Sheriff of the County; but, as we learn from a letter of his, dated, April 2d, 1776, he had scruples about taking the oath. His scruples ripened into genuine toryism; and he joined the enemy, hoping thus to save his large estate from confiscation. He died an exile; and his estate was confiscated. In Hanover, "an English emigrant, a man of "considerable property, and not a little *hau-* "*teur* who had drunk deeply into toryism," was holding "many an ardent controversey" with celebrated "Parson Gren," Presbyterian Minister of the parish, on the subject of American Independence. Ashbel Green, the Parson's son, heard the talk, and, afterwards, was amused to see this Tory standing up, in the Church, on a Sunday, whilst the Minister read his confession of the sin of toryism, being earnestly moved thereto by the rumor that he had been threatened with a coat of tar and feathers, by some hot bloods in Morristown. This was in the forenoon; and the culprit rode rapidly to the said "neighboring town," to get Doctor Johnes to read for him, the same confession, there, which the Doctor, at last, convinced him was unnecessary. (Dr. Green's *Life*, 33-36.)

About twelve miles North from Morristown, in "Rockaway Valley," was a nest of Tories, but some sterling patriots. The goodly farms of the latter, the Tories were sure would be confiscated, by and by, and, in so many words, had selected their share in the forfeited estates; but, as Providence willed it, the confiscations took place on the other side of the question. The patriots met in a stone house which yet stands; and the greatest *man* among them was the strong-minded wife of one, Frederic Miller, who annihilated all the faint-heartedness of her Whig friends, by her own brave bearing.

Over in Mendham, seven miles West of Morristown, Captain David Thompson—devout, godly, most eloquent in prayer—only represented his neighbors in that old Presbyterian Congregation, when, in answer to a brother officer, who exclaimed, at a very critical time in our affairs: "We are ruined; what shall we do now?" he said, devoutly raising his eyes towards heaven, "I suppose we can yet trust "in God." And Captain Thompson's wife, Hannah Carey, was the true representative of her sex, in Morris, when she said to the starving soldiers: "You are engaged in a good "cause, and we are willing to share with you, "what we have, as long as it lasts!"

In Whippany, five miles North-east of Morristown, noble Anna Kitchel, wife of Uzal, scorned to get a "British Protection," when urged by good, but faint-hearted, Deacon—— having, as she said, "a husband, father, and "five brothers in the American Army, and, if "the God of battles will not care for us, we "will fare with the rest!" It was well said, that saying of Anna Kitchel. In fact, when we get at the history of that Winter, we find that not a small part of the provisions which sustained the soldiers, was raised, the previous season, by the women and servants, aided by men and boys, too old, or too young, to assist in defending the country.

About this time, Charles Hoff, the Manager of Lord Stirling's Hibernia Furnace, is assuring his employer that, with skilful workmen, they can cast very good cannon there—in fact, they did cast one on a certain day, "which missed "in the Breach; all the rest was sound and

"good." But then Mr. Hoff and John Jacob Faesch are very successful in casting cannon-balls and grape, which, no doubt, did execution when impelled by some of Colonel Ford's "good Merchantable Powder." Meanwhile, about New Year's day, lion-hearted and lion-voiced Colonel William Winds—afterwards General—has conducted the Morris-county Regiment home, from the North; and often, he is seen riding, or rather, rushing, along the highways, never able to get along fast enough.

In Morristown, there was Benoni Hatheway, first Major, then Colonel, a man who afterward believed in the "Morristown Ghost," and whose faith in witches led him to keep the sovereign horse-shoe nailed somewhere about his premises; but there was nothing else he feared, and very often he rushed among the enemy, in battle, like a cannon-ball. Benoni managed the powder in the Magazine, just right, having the same made into cartridges.

If we look at the Churches of Morris-county, we find them sound to the core, on the doctrine of the nation's independence. Excepting, perhaps, two Baptist Churches, at Morristown and Schooley's-mountain, there were no Churches but Presbyterian, with one or two Reformed Dutch. And the Ministers thought themselves preaching the Gospel, when they taught their people, "out of the Scriptures," what are the rights of men and nations. Thus, Parson Woodhull, of Black-river—now Chester—preached so discreetly and pungently, on these vital points, that the people sent him, for several years, to the Provincial Congress, to vote for them, there. In Hanover, Parson Green, an extraordinary man, in some doggerel verse of the day, addressed, as "preacher and teacher, "Doctor and Proctor, Miller and Distiller," was exerting a prodigious influence, in the same direction. This man, Rev. Jacob Green, was, in some respects, the most extraordinary man in the County; eminent, as a preacher and a physician, and long sighted, as a statesman. In Morristown, was the mild, gifted, and beloved Doctor Johnes, most assiduous Pastor, most strenuous patriot, and once dispensing the Communion elements to George Washington, at a meeting held in the Grove, because the Church was needed for a hospital. In Bottle Hill—now Madison—was good Pastor, Azariah Horton, who "was not a whit be-"hind the chiefest" patriots, in his zeal for American liberty. In Mendham, was Pastor Lewis, soon to be called to higher enjoyments; but he preached and prayed national independence, as part of the Gospel. In such Churches as Rockaway and Succassunna, having no Ministers, they held "Deacon's meetings;" and it was always noticed, that when brave William Winds prayed, in the old, unplastered Church, at Rockaway, his voice would become excited, even loud as thunder, as he implored God to break the arm of the oppressor and give America freedom. Eunice Kitchel—afterward the venerable Mrs. Pierson of Rockaway—who died in her ninety-fourth year, often heard Winds's stormy, patriotic prayers; and knew they struck a tender chord in the popular heart.

We have not dealt in imagination, but have stated facts, gathered from authentic sources, in thus sketching the state of things, in Morris-county, when Washington came here, in January, 1777. The people were embarassed with debt; but everything they had, they were willing to share with their country, and also to give her their "men of war able to bear the "sword." There were some Tories, but the records of the Court prove that such were loudly called on to "repent or perish." The old Jail, on the Morristown Green, was full of Tories and other prisoners. And, looking at the facilities of defence and communication, the ardent patriotism of the people and the Ministers of Morris-county, we may question the soundness of Washington's opinion, that "the situation is by no means favorable to our "views."

It is not an easy, but it is an interesting, task to glean and weave together the facts, yet available, showing what was the situation of the Army, during that Winter. The testimony of old people, incidental illusions in newspapers and manuscripts of that time, will give us much information. It is, indeed, a singular fact, that in a national work, Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, the map of "*Military Movements "in New Jersey*," Bottle Hill is not even put down, nor any reference made to the main encampment, that Winter of 1776-7, near Bottle Hill, in what was called LOWANTICA VALLEY, of late years known as Spring Valley. Nor is any illusion made to it, in that other great national book, Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*. By frequent conversations, with aged people, especially soldiers, the writer of this has long been acquainted with the general fact of the main encampment being there; but the detailed account of it has been gathered, with great labor, by the Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, at one time, the Pastor of the Presbyterian church, in Madison, formerly Bottle Hill, and, with his consent, I quote his manuscript:

"The valley to which reference has been "made"—says Mr. Tuttle in his *Bottle Hill, during the Revolution*—"and which was select-"ed as the place of encampment, was called

"Lowantica, which is an Indian name, from "the brook which runs through it. * * * * "Commencing at a point, a little South of "Morristown, and running in a South-easterly "direction, for the distance of about five miles, "it loses itself in the vicinity of Green Village, "in what is commonly known as the Great "Swamp. The Lowantica, which runs through "this valley, is an unusually clear and beauti- "ful stream, which is formed from the springs "which abound in the valley, and gush forth, "in all their native purity, at almost every "step." * * * *

"At the time of which we are now speaking, "nearly the whole of this beautiful valley, not "excepting the place of the encampment, was "covered with a heavy growth of timber. * * "To this well-chosen spot, then, did the "American Army repair, for the purpose of "going into Winter-quarters. The weather, "at the time, was exceedingly cold. Pitching "their tents, at first, wherever they could find "places for them, they continued to occupy "them, it is believed, for two or three weeks, "until they were able to construct more sub- "stantial and comfortable accommodations. "The centre of the ground, marked out for the "encampment, was not far from the present "mansion of Mr. A. M. Treadwell. * * * * "The location was admirably adapted to the "objects for which it was selected. The "ground, at that point, gradually descends "towards the South-east, and is shielded, in a "great measure, by the crown of hill back of "it, from the severe winds and storms from "North-east, North, and North-west. A little "South of it, runs the Lowantica; and, still "nearer, are several very large and excellent "springs. The encampment began on the "slope, West of the spot occupied by Mr. "Treadwell's residence. * * * One princi- "pal street, between four and five rods wide, "was laid out in the middle, in the centre of "which stood the flag-staff, which, by this "time, had come to be called 'the Liberty "Pole,' from the top of which our national "banner floated. This street was kept in ex- "cellent condition; and was used as a parade- "ground; although there is some reason to be- "lieve that the fine level space, on the hill, "North of the Camp, was used for this pur- "pose, on special occasions, such as general "parades and reviews. The general direction "of the main street was North-east and South- "west. On this, were constructed the cabins "of the officers, which were somewhat larger "than those which were put up for the soldiers. "On either side of this leading avenue, were "either one or two other streets, running in the "same general direction, and about forty feet "in width. On these, the cabins of the sol- "diers were built, in some cases single, but "oftener in blocks of three, four, and five to- "gether; whilst, outside of them, especially "on the northern side, others were con- "structed, without any special reference to "streets, but rather in reference to the character "of the ground, the side hill there being in- "dented with several deep gullies. The "cabins, of which all the aged people in the "vicinity agree there were a large number— "probably, as many as three hundred, in all— "were made of unhewn logs and covered with "rough clap-boards, split out of the forest. * * "In one end of each cabin, a rough stone fire- "place was thrown up, surmounted by a plais- "tered stick-chimney; while, in the other end "of each structure, a bunk, or sleeping-place, "was erected with clap-boards and small pieces "of timber, resting on crotches, which were "driven into the ground. These bunks reached "across the entire end of the cabins, and being "filled with straw, were made to accommodate "ten or twelve soldiers each. * * * Rough "clap-board benches answered them for seats. "Huge fires were kept continually blazing, day "and night; and these constituted the sum-total "of their furniture.

"Several very large cabins were erected for "the accommodation of the Commissary De- "partment and camp-stores; and these are be- "lieved to have been located on the southern "borders of the Camp, in the vicinity of the "springs, already referred to. In that part of "the Camp, were also the cabins erected and "occupied by the Suttlers, who drove on a "brisk trade, in various Groceries, especially "good Whiskey. * * * * A little farther "down, towards the Lowantica, rude sheds "were built for sheltering the horses belonging "to the Camp. * * * * Here, too, the "baggage and artillery-waggons were drawn "up in lines.

"On the outermost limits of the encampment, "several log guard-houses were built, for the "sentinels, whose duty it was, in regular beats, "to pass back and forth, along the four sides "of the Camp, day and night."

These facts were derived from several aged people, who resided, all their lives, in that vicinity, and who had frequently been in the Camp, the Winter and Spring it was occupied. The writer of this article has frequently conversed with Mrs. Eunice Pierson, whose husband, Darius Pierson, was living with his father, on the farm, a part of which was used for the Camp; and she had the same general information from her husband, who has often pointed out to her, the location and plan of the

Camp, so that, in the main, the above minute description is doubtless correct. Mr. Tuttle has also pointed out the private houses, in the vicinity, which were occupied by Colonel Francis Barbour, Colonel Matthias Ogden, Major Eaton, Colonel Marsh, General Wayne, and other officers, in the course of this or other Winters, during the War.

The beautiful Lowantica Valley is a place, hallowed with patriotic associations; and never should it be forgotten that, along its gentle slopes, a part of the Army which achieved the victories of Trenton and Princeton, heroically suffered great privations; and that, often, the great men of the Revolution, Alexander Hamilton, Anthony Wayne, Baron Steuben, and, above all, pre-eminent, Washington, have here reviewed the brave but thinned ranks of their Army. Here, too, the martyr, Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, idolized by the soldiers, has "held forth the word of life," with simple but effective eloquence, and, with fervent pathos, has supplicated the aid of Him in whose sight "the nations are as grasshoppers," in behalf of the defenders of their Country. Nor should it be forgotten, that, along the slopes of the Lowantica Valley and in its immediate vicinity are many unknown graves, in which were buried patriot soldiers who died, that Winter, of diseases induced by hardship, or by the small-pox which prevailed. But of this more, in another place.

Washington stationed strong detachments, especially of the Militia, under General William Winds, in the region of Pluckamin and Quibbletown, in Somerset-county, to watch the enemy, quartered in New Brunswick, and protect that section of the country. I have the affidavits of soldiers, applying for pensions, which prove that these troops were engaged in no sinecure business; and that the too impetuous Winds did very efficient service. The entire season was distinguished by severe skirmishes, in which our Militia behaved with great bravery.

General Israel Putnam was in command of the troops, in the neighborhood of the Delaware; and General Heath, in the Hudson Highlands. The enemy exhibited the most ruthless disregard of the rights even of those who had claimed safety, under "British Pro-"tections;" and Washington wrote that the people "are exceedingly exasperated at the "treatment they have met with, both from "Hessian and British Troops." The religious feelings of the people were shocked by seeing their Churches desecrated, the enemy destroying the pews, and often stabling their horses in the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch sanctuaries. Churches belonging to the English Establishment were exempted, since, "as a "body, the Clergy, the Church of England, "in the Colonies, were either neutral in the "contest—the case with the greater number— "or ranged on the side of Royalty." (*Literary World*, September 23d, 1848.) It was not strange that the people should, in these circumstances, have become thoroughly weaned from the cause of Royalty. The appeals of such Ministers as MacWhorter, of Newark, and Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, and Green, and Johnes, and Horton and Woodhull, of Morris-county, were forcibly sustained by the sacrilegious conduct of the enemy. The conduct of the Tories and refugees was so inhuman and outrageous, that the Royal cause was identified, in the popular esteem, with these vagabonds, guilty of treason, robbery, and murder. During that Winter, Governor Livingston and his Privy Council, were compelled to itinerate, secretly and frequently, now holding their meetings at Trenton, Princeton, Newark, Morristown, or wherever it could be done, with safety, for the general good. The Governor was not a bold man, but a very persevering one; and, well aware of the fact that the Tories were determined to seize him, as a rare prize, to be carried to the enemy, he was usually attended, in his journeys, by a detachment of Arnold's Light Horse; and very seldom slept two successive nights in one house. In several instances, the Tories made a descent on the house where the Governor had spent the previous night; but, whilst thus hunted, for years, he managed, in every case, to elude his enemies. This estimable officer was greatly esteemed by Washington, and rendered invaluable services to the country, in those perilous times.

Only a part of the Army was quartered in Lowantica Valley. Large numbers were billetted at private houses, in the townships of Morris, Chatham and Hanover, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. This method, though necessarily arbitrary, was met by a people of "willing mind." Aaron Kitchel and his father, Joseph, of Hanover, had two houses, and gave up the larger one, on condition that the old people might have the other, required only to take care of three sick English prisoners, of whom there was no danger of their catching the small pox. The late Rev. Doctor Ashbel Green remembers that his father's family "consisted of nine individuals; and, as "well as can be recollected, fourteen officers "and soldiers were quartered in the same dwell-"ing." (Dr. Green, in *The Christian Advocate*, ix., 522.) The Sayres, Richards, Ely, Beach, Kitchel, Smith, Tuttle, and other families,

were served in the same way, making no complaints.

In Whippany, honored as the first village in the County to raise a Company of soldiers, for defence of liberty, Mrs. Anna Kitchel, daughter of Daniel Tuttle, devout believer that she was, was willing to "leave it all to the Lord;" and, in this piety, her husband was not a whit behind her. These worthy people never said to the soldiers, "be ye warmed and filled," merely, but always had rooms and free provisions for, at least, twelve soldiers, though they once protested when an officer attempted to billet *forty* hungry fellows on them, for whom, however, they hung over the fire, "the large "kettle, holding half a barrel, filled with meat, "potatoes, and other vegetables," so that they might not go away hungry. And there were hundreds of people in Morris-county animated with the same spirit. Noble men! noble women! your descendants are proud of their ancestry. These are precious relics of a heroic age, and ought to be garnered up safely in history.

Meanwhile, as the Commissioners are providing for the soldiers as best they can, let us look into the old "Arnold Tavern," then honored in sheltering its greatest guest. Seated there, at his table, with lips compressed and brow fearfully stern, Washington is "under "the disagreeable necessity of troubling his "Lordship, Gen Howe, with a letter almost "wholly on the subject of the cruel treatment "which our officers and men, who are unhappy "enough to fall into your hands, receive on "board the prison-ships in the harbor of New "York;" and did not the writer "endeavor to "obtain a redress of their grievances, he would "think himself as culpable as those who inflict "such severities upon them." "The distress "of the prisoners," wrote one of them, "can "not be communicated by words. Twenty or "thirty die every day. They lie in heaps un-"buried. What numbers of my countrymen "have died by cold and hunger, perished for "want of the common necessaries of life! I "have seen it. This, Sir, is the boasted British "clemency! * * * * Rather than again "experience their barbarity and insults, may "I fall by the sword of the Hessians." (*American Archives*, V., iii., 1429) Just a week after Washington reached Morristown, he wrote two noble epistles to Lord Howe, on the same day, (January 13th,) on the subject of "the barbarous "usage" our soldiers and sailors were receiving in New York, "which their emaciated coun-"tenances confirm." (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 273-277.)

But weightier matters than this are pressing upon him. The term of enlistment for large numbers of his men, is expiring, and most urgent letters are sent "to the Council of Safety "of Pennsylvania," "to the President of Con-"gress," "to the Governors of the thirteen "States," calling for more men and munitions; and it is cheering to find him able to say, on the twentieth of January, "our affairs here are "in a very prosperous train. Within a month "past, in several engagements with the enemy, "we have killed, wounded, and taken prison-"ers between two and three thousand men. I "am very confident that the enemy's loss here "will oblige them to recall their force from "your State. If I am properly supported, I "shall hope to close the Campaign gloriously "for America." (*Letter to Governor Cook*, in Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 256.) But the courageous and ever hopeful Washington has yet to pass through some very distressing, dark scenes—Battles of Chad's Ford and Germantown for instance—and is yet to be deserted by the Rev. Jacob Duchè, the first Chaplain of Congress, and endure the sharp agony of Benedict Arnold's treason, before he "closes the Cam-"paign gloriously for America;" but "with "the smiles of Providence," he will do it.

During this month of January, he has "the "satisfaction to say that General Philemon "Dickinson's behaviour, in an action that hap-"pened near Sommerset Court-house, on Mill "Stone-river, reflected the highest credit on "him; for, though his troops were all raw, he "led them through the river, middle deep, and "gave the enemy so severe a charge, that, al-"though supported by three field-pieces, they "gave way and left their convoy of forty wag-"gons and upwards of one hundred horses, "most of them of the English draft breed, and "a number of sheep and cattle which they had "collected." (*Ibid*, 289.)

But then it was not all or mainly sunlight in the "old Arnold Tavern;" for on the twenty-sixth of January, Washington wrote, "rein-"forcements come up so extremely slow, that I "am afraid I shall be left without any men be-"fore they arrive. The enemy must be igno-"rant of our numbers, or they have not horses "to move their artillery, or they would not "suffer us to remain undisturbed." (*Ibid*, 301.)

At this point, I may introduce an anecdote which I had from G. P. McCullough, Esq., father-in-law of the late Hon. J. W. Miller, who had it directly from General Doughty, a Revolutionary officer, residing in Morristown. A man had been employed by Washington, as a spy; but some circumstances had led Colonel Hamilton to suspect that he was carrying news to the enemy; and he determined to make some good use of the man. Accordingly, when the man called, one day, at the Colonel's office,

he found him very busy making out a Report of the condition of the Army, for the Commander-in-chief. The Report was made out with great minuteness of detail; such a Division had so many men, and such a Division so many, etc., etc.; and then the whole was summed up into a splendid aggregate at least four times as large as the actual force. The condition of the Magazines was detailed in the same manner. Soon after, the suspected spy entered the office, Colonel Hamilton pretended to have some errand and excused himself, saying he would be back in a few minutes. Apparently, in his haste, he had left his Report lying on his table; and, no sooner was he gone, than the fellow, glancing over its pages, and sure that he had an invaluable document, through a most fortunate chance, pocketed it and left for the enemy! General Doughty said that it was Colonel Hamilton's opinion that this happy stroke did not a little to keep the enemy from Morristown, at a time when the American Army was in no condition to receive them.

Thus passed the month of January, in plans to defend the country from its invaders; but another invader was approaching, dreadful, indeed, to contend with. Mr. Lossing intimates, that while measures were taken to innoculate the soldiers in the Northern Department, such means were not taken at Morristown. Not having his book at hand, I can only give my impression from memory. But this is a mistake. It was a common opinion, in this region, at that time, that the small-pox was wilfully and maliciously introduced by the enemy, hoping to do us fatal damage by the means. But, whatever were the means, the "*Morristown* "*Bill of Mortality*" shows that, on the eleventh of January, 1777, "Martha, widow of Joshua "Ball, died of small-pox." "Gershom Hatha-"way, on the 24th," and "Ebenezer Winds, on "the 31st" of the same month, by the same loathsome disease. On the fifth of February, 1777, Washington wrote, "the small-pox has "mad[illegible]ch head, in every quarter, that I find "it i[illegible]ossible to keep it from spreading "through the whole Army, in the natural way. "I have therefore determined not only to inoc-"ulate all the troops now here that have not "had it, but shall order Dr. Shippen to inoc-"ulate the troops as fast as they come to "Philadelphia. They will lose no time, be-"cause they go through the disorder while "their clothing, arms, and accoutrements are "getting ready." (Sparks's *Washington*, iv., 311.) He was compelled to resort to this extreme measure by the experience of the previous year, especially in the Northern Army, which suffered greatly from small-pox. "An estab-"lishment," says Sparks, "for inoculation was "was provided near Morristown, for the troops "in camp; one at Philadelphia, for those com-"ing from the South; another in Connecticut; "another in Providence." (*Ibid*, 364.) So far as Morristown is concerned, it was not so much a place, as a series of inoculating hospitals in different places, in the townships of Morris and Hanover. The Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, in his *Sketch of Bottle Hill, during the Revolution*, from which I have already quoted, remarks that "several private hospitals, in this vicinity, "were used for the purpose of inoculation, as "a means of arresting the progress of the dis-"ease. One of these was the dwelling subse-"quently occupied by Jonathan Thompson, in "the vicinity of the house belonging to Mr. "David C. Miller. At that place, an excellent "Surgeon was stationed; and thither all classes, "in and about this village, went to pass "through the process of inoculation." "Another "place which was set apart for the purpose of "inoculation, was the house which stood, at "that time, on the farm of the late John Og-"den, over the hill—about two miles South of "Morristown— * * * * That house was "then owned and occupied by Mr. Elijah Pier-"son; and, for several months, it was continu-"ally filled with both soldiers and citizens, "who had repaired thither, in order to guard "themselves, by inoculation, against the "small-pox. I have been informed by some of "the Brookfield family, residing but a little "distance from the Lowantica camp-ground, "that they received it from their revolutionary "ancestors, who lived and died on the ground, "that, during that same Winter, there was a "small encampment on the hill, back of the "Bonsall mansion, a short distance North of "the place last described; and it has seemed "to me not improbable that that was an ar-"rangement also made for inoculating the "Army." "Another private house that was "occupied for a hospital, was an old one "which stood on the spot now occupied by the "residence of Mr. Bailey, on the road leading "by the camp-ground across the Lowantica "valley, and but a little distance from the road "leading from Green Village to Morristown. " * * * * Physicians and nurses were "stationed there, also; and everything was "done to save the lives of the poor fellows who "were carried thither, from time to time, on "litters, from the Camp. All the rooms in the "house were continually filled with patients; "and a very large proportion of them died and "were buried in the orchard, about five hun-"dred yards North-west of the house. Noth-"ing now exists to mark the place of their "burial." "But the principal hospital in the "vicinity of the Camp, was a large house which

"belonged, at that time, to a German gentle-
"man of the name of Harperee, on the farm
"which now belongs to J. J. Scofield, Esq., on
"the old road leading from Bottle Hill to Morris-
"town. That house stood about a quarter of
"a mile South of the above thoroughfare, and
"on ground which sloped towards the South,
"so that it could not be seen from the road.
"It was a one and a half story house, having
"four rooms on the lower floor and a greater
"number on the upper; about one and a half
"miles North-west of the centre of the Camp;
"and in many respects admirably adapted for
"the object for which it was used. Here, also,
"many of the soldiers saw the last of earth.
"The place where they were buried, it is said,
"is still to be seen in the South-west corner of
"the Harperee farm. A triangular piece of
"ground, containing at least three-quarters of
"an acre, surrounded by an old-fashioned
"worm-fence and filled with mounds, as
"closely as they could be placed in regular
"rows, was the place where these unfortunate
"men, unblessed with the sympathy of wives,
"sisters, and mothers, were committed to the
"dust."

Such are the facts which Mr. Tuttle has rescued from oblivion; but, probably, in reference to the last two places which he describes, he is wrong in calling them inoculating hospitals, Dr. Ashbel Green, whose father, "Parson "Green," was a Physician, says, explicitly, that, during that season, the disease by inoculation was so light that there was probably "not a day in which the Army could not have "marched against the enemy, if it had been "necessary." (*Christian Ad.*, ix., 522.) There is other conclusive testimony to the same effect; but equally conclusive is the evidence, that those who took the disease in the natural way suffered awfully, and that a large proportion of them died. The Bailey and Harperee houses were probably hospitals for those who had the small-pox in the natural way, which accounts for its fatality, at those places. And well might the author of *Bottle Hill, during the Revolution*, exclaim, "Very sacred, as a conse-
"quence, are the associations which gather
"around these spots! Very precious ought
"they to be in the estimation of all true Ameri-
"can patriots!"

If we now return to Hanover, during this memorable season, we find that "Parson Green" is preaching regularly in the old Presbyterian Meeting-house, not from a "*Carpenter's bench*," as in former years, but from a real pulpit, built for him by Carpenter Jedidiah Beach, to which good act he had been specially incited, as is said, by the Parson's preaching on the somewhat odd subject of "the Four Carpenters," the main inference of which discourse was, "Why can't I have a pulpit?" That pulpit witnessed the ministrations of its worthy occupant until early in February, 1777, when the Church was converted into a temporary hospital for those soldiers "who had taken the "disease—small-pox—in the natural way." Ashbel Green, eldest son of the Parson, was then almost fifteen years old, and was "train-
"ing" for real battles, "in a Company of boys
"from ten to fifteen years old; none I think
"were admitted under ten, unless an indivi-
"dual or two of uncommon growth!" (*Life of Dr. A. Green*, 55.) It was a dismal time, in the whole region, as we may well imagine. In a valuable note appended to the autobiography of the Rev. Jacob Green of Hanover, Dr. Ashbel Green makes the following statements of facts, which he himself was witness to, in his boyhood: "After the memorable manœuvres
"and Battles at Trenton and Princeton, * * *
"Gen. Washington quartered his whole army,
"not a large one, in Morris-county. The
"small-pox had broken out among the troops,
"and proved *exceedingly fatal*. The Church
"in which the Rev. Jacob Green statedly
"preached was used as an hospital for those
"who had taken the disease in the natural
"way; and the *present writer can never forget*
"*the appalling scenes which he there witnessed*,
"*produced by the ravages of that frightful mal-*
"*ady*, now so happily disarmed of its terrors
"by the fortunate discovery of vaccination.
"The troops were distributed in the dwellings
"of the inhabitants, and the Surgeons of the
"Army inoculated both soldiers and citizens
"—the citizens without charge. The family
"of the writer's father consisted of nine indi-
"viduals; and, as well as can be recollected,
"fourteen officers and soldiers were quartered
"in the same dwelling. All were inoculated
"together, and all had the disease in a very
"favorable manner. Indeed, the disease by
"inoculation was so slight that there was
"probably not a day in which the Army could
"not have marched against the enemy, if it had
"been necessary; but it providentially was not
"necessary." (*Christian Advocate*, ix., 522.)

All, however, did not have the disease so lightly. Little Eunice Kitchel, afterwards Mrs. Pierson, a *nonagenarian*, had the small-pox, which left traces so deep as were not effaced as long as she lived. Electa Beach, daughter of Captain Enoch Beach, afterwards married to Silas Dickerson, of Stanhope, brother of Governor Mahlon Dickerson, then to the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, of Rockaway, was apparently "sick unto death," with the same disease; and when she was near eighty years old, she told about the lamentation made over her, by

friends, and how that the Doctor tried to console them by the somewhat rugged words, "that they should not make such an ado about "it, for if she got well, she would be so—— "ugly!"—prefixing one of his Infernal Majesty's derivatives. No doubt, many other families were in the same distressing situation, and, perhaps, some of them did not fare as well.

The plan for inoculating the Army produced great alarm in the community; and Doctor Green says, "My father, I well remember, went "in a sleigh to Morristown, accompanied by "some of the most respectable men of his con- "gregation, to confer with General Washing- "ton on the subject." The representations made by these gentlemen were answered by Washington with so much force, that they "came back perfectly reconciled to the mea- "sure." He incidentally mentions the fact that "Doctor Bond of Philadelphia, then a Surgeon "of some eminence, of rank in the Army," and Doctor Cochran, of New Brunswick, were engaged in inoculating and attending the soldiers and citizens. In this connection, he also adds; "for a short time, my father's Church "was made a Hospital for the reception of "those on whom the natural small-pox had ap- "peared, before they could be inoculated; and "more frightful and pitiable human beings I "have never seen. The heads of some of them "were swelled to nearly double their natural "size; their eyes were closed; and their faces "were black as a coal. The most of these "died." (*Life of Doctor Ashbel Green*, 88-94.)

The private records of Parishes and Ministers of that day, in Morris-county, are unfortunately very scanty; and, in many cases, not a scrap is to be found. In Hanover, Mr. Green left nothing; and it is only through his son that we have anything to enlighten us in that dismal period of history. From his testimony, it appears that soldiers were quartered in every house in the Parish; and that both soldiers and citizens were inoculated, at home, and not in hospitals. It seems that a different course was pursued in Chatham and Morris Townships, where particular houses were set apart as Hospitals for inoculation, and, as is abundantly proved, in the latter place, with results far more dreadful than in Hanover. It evidently would be impossible to inoculate a whole community promptly in hospitals, so that many were exposed, whilst waiting their turn, or, through fear or some other cause, neglected the precaution, entirely.

This inference may be plainly drawn from the records of death in the *Morristown Bill of Mortality*, for the year 1777. On the twenty-fourth of January, and also on the thirty-first, occurred a death from small-pox in the Parish of Morristown. During the month of February, Doctor Johnes attended eleven funerals in his Parish, caused by small-pox, an average of nearly three per week; in March he attended nine; in April, twenty-one; in May, eleven; in June, six; in July, eight; and in August, one —all produced by small-pox. Sometimes, as in April, he attended two such funerals in one day, as on the second, seventh, and eight of April; and on the fourteenth and thirtieth of April, this unwearied Pastor attended to the grave, each day, *three* parishoners who had died of this foul disease. The *Bill of Mortality* shows that no age, sex, or condition was exempt —the wailing infant, the child just learning to prattle, the mother of little children, the father, in the strength of manhood, the aged—two men died nearly ninety years old—the freeman and bond-servant, all were laid under fear of death, in this most awful form. Sixty-eight victims of small-pox did faithful Pastor Johnes attend to "the house appointed for all living," in that memorable year of 1777; and the most of them between the seventeenth of February and the first of August. It was the saddest year the Parish of Morristown ever saw, before or since, during which the old bell, which still tolls the hours, in the steeple of the First Presbyterian Church, tolled the departure from this life, of two hundred and five persons, residents in that community, which was one death in about every one and a half days, through the entire year!

As already intimated, "Parson Green" had too much to do to keep bills of mortality, so that we shall never know how many of those poor soldiers—"more frightful and pitiable "human beings I have never seen"—died in the old Hanover Church, their heart-rending moans mingling with the cold, winter winds; nor shall we know how many families were decimated by small-pox, dysentery, and putrid fever, the terrible scourges of that year. The same was true of the Bottle Hill Parish, in which Rev. Azariah Horton, recent Pastor of the Church, died of small-pox on the twenty-seventh of March, 1777. The same season, the devoted Pastor, Thomas Lewis, of Mendham, died, perhaps overtasked in visiting the sick and burying the dead, Could we have *Bills of Mortality* for each of the old Parishes in Morris-county, for that year—Hanover, Parcippany, Black River, Mendham, Succasunna, Rockaway, Pompton Plains—they would doubtless tell just such a tale as the Morristown Bill: sad, simple, afflictive, showing that that year, in Morris-county, was there a voice heard, "la- "mentation and great mourning."

We cannot intelligently appreciate the situation of Washington, the first Winter he spent

in Morristown, without thus bidding the past rise from the dead, to go before us, like a living drama, that we may look at things in detail—bankruptcy, disease, nakedness, death—just as they crowded upon Washington, his soldiers, and their patriotic entertainers. Never were there combinations of evil things better calculated to undermine the courage of all concerned in the struggle: and yet their faith in God never failed. Washington was not an unmoved spectator of the griefs about him; and often might he be seen, in Hanover and Lowantica Valley, cheering the faith and inspiring the courage of his suffering men. His labors were very heavy, in the South-east room of the "Arnold Tavern," urging on Congress the necessity of "tendering an oath of allegiance to "all the inhabitants, and outlawing those that "refuse it;" now advising and inspiriting his Generals—Benedict Arnold among them, but too base to be elevated by his communion with the great spirit of the age—now hurrying forward the enlistment of troops and the collection of munitions; now teaching Lord Howe some lessons in humanity, by the law of retaliation, "although," say he, "I shall always be "happy to manifest my disinclination to any "undue severities towards those whom the for-"tune of War may chance to throw into my "hands." His situation is extremely trying, for, on the second of March, he wrote, "Gen. "Howe cannot have * * * less than ten "thousand men in the Jerseys. * * * Our "number does not exceed four thousand. His "are well-disciplined, well-officered, and well-"appointed. Our's raw Militia, badly officered, "and under no government." The balance-sheet, thus struck, seemed to be against him; but then, Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, did not express himself too strongly in writing that very Winter to Washington, "Heaven, no doubt for the noblest pur-"poses, has blessed you with a firmness of "mind, steadiness of countenance, and patience "in sufferings, that give you infinite advantag-"es over other men." To use his own words, "there is a multiplicity of business engaging "my whole attention."

There is a tradition among the old people of Morris-county, which has the semblance of probability, and may therefore be repeated. It is that, whilst Washington was at the "Arnold "Tavern," he had a dangerous attack of quinsy sore throat, and, feeling serious apprehensions about his recovery, some of his friends asked him to indicate the man whom he considered the best fitted to succeed him in command of the Army; and that, without hesitation, he pointed to General Nathaniel Green. This is given as it was heard, merely as a tradition.

Tradition also states that the anxieties of the Winter were relieved with a little pleasantry, in a correspondence between the English and American Commanders-in-chief. Howe is said to have sent to Washington a copy of Watts's version of the one hundred and twentieth Psalm, containing the following amiable verses

"Thou God of love, thou ever blest,
"Pity my suffering state;
"When wilt thou set my soul at rest,
"From lips that love deceit?

"Hard lot of mine! my days are cast
"Among the sons of strife,
"Whose never ceasing brawlings waste
"My golden hours of life.

"O! might I change my place,
"How would I choose to dwell
"In some wide, lonesome wilderness,
"And leave these gates of hell!"

To this, the same tradition states, Washington returned Watts's version of the one hundred and first Psalm, entitled *The Magistrate's Psalm*, containing the following pointed verses:

"In vain shall sinners strive to rise,
"By flattering and malicious lies;
"And while the innocent I guard,
"The bold offender sha'nt be spared.

"The impious crew, that factious band,
"Shall hide their heads, or quit the land;
"And all who break the public rest,
"Where I have power shall be suppress."

This tradition has come to me from two entirely distinct sources; but, of coure, it cannot be authenticated.

During the Winter, several sharp skirmishes were fought in the region between the American and English lines. One of these is described in the *New Jersey Gazette* of March 18th, 1777, by an American Officer, in a very racy manner. The engagement took place "near "Quibble or Squabbletown;" and the officer commanding two thousand of the enemy "is "under arrest, for undertaking, like Don "Quixote, to do impossibilities. He, instead "of marching directly to Brunswick, which he "might have done, must needs go fourteen "miles out of the direct road, to take prisoners "Gen. Maxwell and his party at Sparktown, "and to make his triumphant entry into Bruns-"wick, leading his captives in chains, like an "old Roman General, in which he found his "fatal mistake, when too late to remedy it, for "he found that he had surrounded a nest of "American hornets, who soon put his whole "body to flight."

And thus wore away the Winter and Spring. The new levies from Virginia and the Middle States have reached Morristown; the small-pox is conquered; the Powder-mill has been making "good Merchantable Powder," which Benoni Hatheway has been converting into

cartridges; John Jacob Faesch, of Mount Hope, and Charles Hoff, of Hibernia, have sent down many waggon-loads of balls and grape-shot; and, huzza! just in time for the opening Campaign, two vessels from France, arrived in port with twenty-four thousand muskets! And so, about the last of May, Washington, with his Army, left Morristown, to engage in the noble but bloody scenes of the Campaign of 1777; prominent among which are the Battles of Chad's Ford and Germantown! God speed you, noble man! We take peculiar pride in recalling the facts connected with thy sojourn among the mountains of Old Morris, during the sorrowful, yet glorious, Winter of 1776–'7!

In order to obtain a more life-like view of the facts connected with the sojourn of Washington in Morris-county, during the Winter of 1779-80, let us briefly glance at the events which transpired between May, 1777, and December, 1779.

On leaving Morristown, Washington took a strong position at Middle Brook, about nine miles from New Brunswick, and foiled Sir William Howe, who attempted to bring on a general engagement. The enemy were preparing a fleet, for the transportation of the Army, somewhere; but where, no one could tell: perhaps, to act in concert with the formidable expedition of Burgoyne, at the North, or, perhaps, to seize Philadelphia. Convinced that the latter was Howe's aim, Washington marched his Army to the Delaware; and, whilst in Philadelphia, he had his first interview with LaFayette. On the eleventh of September, was fought the battle of Chad's Ford, "in a "country from which Washington could not de-"rive the least intelligence, being, to a man, "disaffected." The heavy rains destroyed much ammunition—on one occasion, "forty "rounds to a man"—and so distressed his ill-protected and ill-clothed soldiers, that Washington was compelled, not only to withdraw to a strong position, but to issue peremptory orders to take blankets and clothing, if needs be, by force, from Philadelphia. Piteously does he say, "if there are any shoes and blank-"ets to be had in Lancaster, or that part of "the country, I entreat you to have them taken "up for the use of the Army;" for "our dis-"tresses, in the articles of shoes, stockings, and "blankets, are extremely great." One of the greatest difficulties he had to contend with, he says, is "the want of shoes;" "at least, one "thousand men are bare-footed, and have per-"formed the marches in that condition." In these hard circumstances, the Battle of Germantown was fought, on the fourth of October, "a "bloody day," as Washington called it, adding "would I could add it were a more fortunate "one for us." He lost about one thousand men; and, on the eighteenth of December, 1777, he led his troops into Winter-quarters, at Valley Forge, whither "they might have been "tracked by the blood of their feet, in march-"ing over the frozen ground."

At the North, on the seventh of October, three days after the disastrous Battle of Germantown, the Battle of Bemis' Heights was fought, Benedict Arnold performing prodigies of valor; and, on the eighteenth of that month, "the Americans marched into the lines of the "British, to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*." "Among the officers taken, were six members "of the British Parliament. The train of brass "artillery and other ordnance were immensely "valuable, consisting of forty-two brass ord-"nance, besides seven thousand muskets, with "six thousand dozen cartridges, besides an am-"ple supply of shot, shells, etc." (Thacher's *Military Journal*, 107-109.) An aged woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Doland, died at Mount Hope, Morris-county, in 1852, more than ninety-one years old, who once told me that, when eleven years old, she was living at Walmsy's Tavern, at Pompton, when the trophies of Burgoyne's surrender were passing through, on their way to Morris-county, where they were to be stored. She had been to a neighbor's house; and, on her return, found the house in a commotion. In the bar-room, was a heap of curious brass-instruments, which belonged to a German Band, captured with Burgoyne's Army. She says that, during the three days the Band remained, she had music enough and was glad when it was gone. The artillery and stores were drawn by oxen; and Mrs. Doland says that some of the cannon required three yokes. The train passed from Pompton to Morristown, through Montville, Troy, and Hanover. It is an interesting fact that the Presbyterian Meeting-house, at Succasunna Plains, some twelve miles West of Morristown, was used a place of storage for the muskets, cannon, and other articles taken at Saratoga. There is now living—1854—a gentleman, in Morristown, the Hon Lewis Condict, who, when a child, saw these stores at that old church. The larger cannon were ranged and sheltered outside the building; and the entire church was filled with the captured munitions. On the road from Morristown to the Plains, just as you are descending the hill, was the house of a Mr. James Young; the garret of which was filled with drums, band-instruments, and other accoutrements requiring shelter. Dr. Condict says he has often, when visiting at Mr. Young's house, amused himself with beating the drums, there stored. And it may be surmised that the fact of these trophies of a British defeat being stored in Morris-county, was

one of the reasons why the enemy had such a desire to penetrate that region—a desire which was never gratified.

Without doubt, the unfortunate contrast between the disasters of the Army on the Delaware and the brilliant success of the Army at the North was the occasion of those insidious comparisons which some thoughtless or malicious person instituted between Washington and Gates, and which resulted in a plot to supplaut the Commander-in-chief.

As for the Army, at Valley Forge, a Frenchman thought he had summed up their hardships and heroism, in saying, "no pay, no clothes, no "rum." But we must hasten on.

The Campaign of 1778 made Monmouth a memorable spot in history. The morning of that day, as Dr. Charles G. McChesney once informed me, as Washingtou was hurrying on to the spot on which his terrible rebuke was to scathe, as with lightning, the Atheist and the Traitor, Lee, for his poltroonery, a patriot woman, Dr. McChesney's grandmother, ran from the house with a cup of refreshment, which she handed to him. Washington took it, and said to her, in a subdued tone of voice, "Madam, God only "knows whether I shall ever drink another!" Some eight miles West of Morristown, Jacob Losey, who is still living—1854—was bathing in a mill-pond, and, ever and anon, was start led by the long, dull, heavy roar of cannon, booming, dismally, along the earth. The lion-hearted, lion-voiced, but too hasty, General Winds, of Morris-county, had led a strong detachment ot Militia, as far as Spotswood, a few miles South of New Brunswick, ordered, as is said, to intercept the enemy's baggage-train and cut off their retreat. He found the bridge at Spotswood was taken up. Loud roared the cannon, showing that there was warm work about Monmouth Court-house, that hot Sabbath in June. Impetuously did he and his men begin to relay the bridge, when a sleek, pious-looking Quaker rode up, at full speed, with the intelligence that the enemy, in considerable force, was landing at Elizabeth-Town-point, intending, no doubt, to penetrate Morris-county. Winds was on fire at the news, and, without thought and without orders, made a forced march back to Elizabeth-Town, on a fool's errrand, to have it said by many, that he was a coward, in which assertion there was no truth. But then it was a sad mistake for his reputation and, perhaps, for his country. That Sunday, on which the Battle of Monmouth was fought, was an "inconceivably distressiug "one to our troops and horses," killing a few and disabling many, but, upon the whole, showing to Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor, the force of the words which, we have said, tradition asserts Washington sent to Howe:

"The impious crew, that factious band,
"Shall hide their heads or quit the land!"

The Winter of 1778–'9, Washington spent at Middle Brook; and its hardships were relieved by occasional amusements, for instance, by celebrating "the anniversary of our alliance "with France," when "a splendid entertainment "was given by General Knox and the officers of "the Artillery. General Washington and his "lady, with the principal officers of the Army "and their ladies, and a considerable number of "respectable ladies and gentlemen of the State "of New Jersey, formed the brilliant assembly. "* * * * * * In the evening, a very "beautiful set of fireworks was exhibited; and "the celebration was concluded by a splendid "Ball, opened by his Excellency, General Wash-"ington, having for his partner, the lady of "General Knox;" and the witness of this gallant display says, admiringly, of Washington, "his tall, noble stature and just proportions, his "fine cheerful, open countenance, simple and "modest deportment, are all calculated to in-"terest every beholder in his favor, and to com-"mand veneration and respect. He is feared "even when silent, and beloved even while "we are unconscious of the motive." "As for "Mrs. Washington, she, too, combines, in an "uncommon degree, great dignity of manner "with the most pleasing affability, but possesses "no striking marks of beauty." (Thacher's *Military Journal*, 157)

But the Winter at Middle Brook was not devoted principally to dancing. Brave, stern Baron Steuben has been appointed Inspector-general of the Army; and, on the parade-ground, he is disciplining the men so severely that their labors amount to little less than hard service in the field. In the Spring of 1779, General Washington detached four thousand regular troops and a large body of Militia to punish the Indians for the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming; and the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, then five years old, remembered that a Brigade of these troops encamped, for a night, in the field opposite his late residence. The officers were quartered in his father's house. As for the general concerns of the Campaign of 1779, it was was made notorious by such piratical movements as the burning of Portsmouth and New London, as the means of "inducing the rebellious Pro-"vinces to return to their allegiance." On the fifteenth of July, "Mad Anthony" Wayne stormed Stony Point; and, in August, Major Henry Lee successfully attacked and took prisouers a body of the enemy, at Paulus Hook, as Jersey City was then called.

Thus passed that Campaign, until, early in December, Washington went into Winter-quar-

ters, at Morristown. His first letter, from Morristown, that Winter, bears the date "7 December, 1779;" and to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, he wrote, "the main army lies "within three or four miles of the town." On the fifteenth of December, he orders Brigadier-general Duportail, in conjunction with the Quarter-master-general, Greene, to "examine "all the grounds in the environs of our present "encampment," for "spots most proper to be "occupied in case of any movement of the "enemy towards us," "these spots to be large "enough for the movements of ten thousand "men." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 415–419.)

On the first of December, 1779, Washington became, in one sense, the guest of Mrs. Ford, daughter of Rev. Dr. Timothy Johnes, and widow of the lamented Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, who died soon after Washington first came to Morristown, in January, 1777. The house in which she was residing was built in 1774, in the most substantial manner and on a scale of elegance and comfort which indicates ample means in its builder. It is a pleasing fact that the house which sheltered Washington has been changed but little since he occupied it. The same weather-boards which resisted the storms of that tremendous Winter are just where they were then. You enter a spacious hall which runs the depth of the house; and not a plank in the floor has been removed since Washington first crossed the threshold of that mansion. The same oaken double-door that opened to him opens to you, now. When he came there, "the widow Eliza-"beth Lindsley, the honored mother of "Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior," had been dead nearly eight years. She lived to see the Ford Mansion begun; but not to live in it. Her son and grandson had been dead three years, nearly. The widow of the latter closed her life, there. Her son, the late Hon. Gabriel H. Ford, succeeded his mother in the mansion, and died at the advanced age of eighty-five years. At the present time (1871) his son, Henry Ford, Esq., is residing there; and is surrounded with his children and grand-children. So that if we reckon Mrs. Lindsley, who lived to see the house begun, it may be said that the old mansion has seen seven generations of the same family. Six generations have actually resided there, of which the first three are now gone; and yet so firmly is it built, that, a century hence, if modern vandalism can be kept from making it impossible, the stranger may open the same portal, press the same floor, wander through the same hall and rooms, and look out at the same windows, as did Washington, that memorable Winter. May it stand as long as the house in which Shakspeare was born! Excepting in the matters of paint and paper, the addition of a partition or two, and the filling up the spacious parlor fire-place, to accommodate a coal grate, no changes have been made. Your eye rests on the same walls, the same cornices, the same window-casements, the same doors, the same mantle-pieces, the same windows, the same hearthstones, as did *his*, in the Winter of 1779-'80. The great outlines of the landscape, once seen never to be forgotten, which *his* eye rested on, then, are the same; but the right-hand of enterprize has greatly changed the details. The eye now rests on thousands of cleared acres which, then, were covered with dense forests; and the old town itself has changed more than other things. We are naturally inclined to venerate places where great men have accomplished heroic deeds. Very finely did Daniel Webster remark, at Valley Forge, "there "is a mighty power in local association. We "all acknowledge, and all feel it! Those "places naturally inspire us with emotion, "which, in the course of human history, have "been connected with great and interesting "events; and this power over ingenuous minds "never ceases, until frequent visits familiarize "the mind to the scenes. * * * * "The mention of Washington, the standing "on the ground of his encampment, the act of "looking around on the scenes which he and "his officers and soldiers then beheld, can-"not but carry us back also to the Revolution "and to one of its most distressing periods." (*Works*, ii., 277.)

What is true of Valley Forge, is true of Morristown and, especially, of the venerable mansion in which Washington resided. It is no ordinary place; and every object which has survived the ravages of time has a sort of sacredness which one can feel better than describe. Take this old arm chair, standing in the hall, and draw it up to the old secretary, also standing in the hall. Washington was often seated in that chair, and often wrote at that secretary. Or take this plain little table, said to have been a favorite one with him, on which to write, because he could easily move it: look at the very ink-spots, which are said to have been made that Winter—spots, which, in the eye of the antiquary, are more beautiful than settings of precious stones—open now to the immortal letters which Washington wrote, that Winter, many of them at that very secretary or little table; read those letters, attentively, and let the imagination evoke the form of their great author, on whose brow are the deep tracings of anxious thought; and one must be either very stupid or very stern if he do not feel a peculiar thrill, a warm glow pervading his whole nature, as thus he beholds, not only Washington, but his dignified lady, the admi-

rable Martha Washington; the courtly and brilliant Alexander Hamilton; the apostate quaker, but splendid soldier, Nathaniel Greene; the incomparable commandant of the Artillery, Henry Knox; the giant-sized and stern Baron Steuben; the polished Kosciuszko; the elegant and accomplished Sterling; and, perhaps, an occasional member of the group, Satan in Paradise, the traitor, Arnold!

It is interesting to ascertain the arrangements of the house and the large family occupying it, that Winter. On the twenty-second of January, 1780, Washington wrote to the Quartermaster-general, Greene, whose duty it was to provide for the comfort of the Commander-in-chief, "I have been at my present Quarters "since the first day of December, and have not "a kitchen to cook a dinner in; * * "nor is there a place, at this moment, in which "a servant can lodge, with the smallest degree "of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family and all Mrs. Ford's are crowded together, "in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able "to speak for the colds they have." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 449.) This was in reference to the cooking department; and, soon, a log kitchen was built, at the East end of the house, for the use of Washington's family. He himself occupied the two South-east rooms of the main house, on the first and second floors. The room on the first floor, he used for a dining, reception, and sitting-room; and the one immediately above it, as a bedroom. At the West end of the house, and but a little distance from it, another log cabin was built for a general office, which Washington occupied, particularly in the day time, with Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Major Tench Tighlman. This cluster of buildings was guarded, night and day, by sentinels. In the field, South-east of the house, huts were built for Washington's Life Guards, of whom there are said to have been two hundred and fifty, under the command of General Colfax, grandfather of our Vice President.

We have already noted the principal localities of interest, in Morristown, but may here allude to two, with each of which is associated an anecdote of Washington. The first Winter he spent there, as has already been stated, it was found necessary to use the Presbyterian Meeting-house, as a temporary Hospital. During the cold weather, Doctor Johnes probably preached, principally, in private houses, in different parts of the congregation; but, when the warm weather came on, it is reported, by tradition, that public meetings, on the Sabbath, were held a few rods back of the Doctor's house. The tradition comes directly from Doctor Johnes, that, previous to holding a communion on that spot, Washington called on him, as is stated in Hosack's *Life of Clinton*, and, "after the usual preliminaries, thus accost-"ed him, 'Doctor, I understand that the Lord's "'Supper is to be celebrated with you, next Sun-"'day. I would learn if it accords with the "'Canons of your Church to admit communi-"'cants of another denomination!' The Doc-"tor rejoined, 'Most certainly. Our's is not "'the Presbyterian's table, General, but the "'Lord's; and hence we give the Lord's invi-"'tation to all his followers, of whatsoever "'name.' The General replied, 'I am glad of "'it: that is as it ought to be; but, as I was "'not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would "'ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to "'join with you on that occasion. Though a "'member of the Church of England, I have "'no exclusive partialities.' The Doctor as-"sured him of a cordial welcome; and the "General was found seated with the communi-"cants, the next Sabbath."

This tradition is well authenticated, and is in perfect keeping with his opinions, elsewhere expressed. I do not now recall any occasion in which he ostentatiously calls himself "a "Churchman," being a man of correct taste; but he was an Episcopalian, by an honest preference,—he had too just views of God, as a Spirit, and of His worship, as spiritual, to narrow down his devotion to any locality, either Mount Gerazim or Jerusalem. Once he used these words: "Being no bigot, myself, I am dis-"posed to indulge the professors of Christi-"anity in the Church with that road to "heaven which to them shall seem the most "direct, the plainest and easiest, and least "liable to objections." And to "The Bishops, "Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episco-"pal Church," he wrote, on the nineteenth of August, 1789, in reply to their Address: "On "this occasion, it would ill become me to con-"ceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fra-"ternal affection which appears to increase "among the friends of genuine religion. It af-"fords most edifying prospects, indeed, to see "Christians of every denomination dwell to-"gether in more charity, and conduct them-"selves in respect to each other with a more "Christian-like spirit than ever they have "done, in any former age, or in any other nation." —Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, xii., 404.

In March, 1797, Washington, in his reply to the Address of "the Clergy of different De-"nominations residing in and near the city of "Philadelphia," uttered the following sentiment: "Believing, as I do, that *Religion* and "*Morality are the essential* pillars of society, I "view, with unspeakable pleasure, that har-"mony and brotherly love which characterize "the Clergy of different denominations, as well "in this, as in other parts of the United

"States; exhibiting to the world a new and "interesting spectacle, at once the pride of "our Country and the surest basis of univer- "sal harmony."—*Dr. Green's Autobiography*, 615.

Doctor Johnes has handed down another anecdote connected with the place already alluded to, which illustrates Washington's genuine politeness. One Sabbath he was in attendance on the Doctor's service, held in the open air, and a chair had been brought in, for his use. Just before the service began, a woman with a child in her arms came in; and, as the seats were all occupied, Washington immediately rose from his and, placing her in it, remained standing the entire service.

The other anecdote I received from P. G. MacCullough, Esq., who received it from the late General Doughty, of Morristown, who saw the incident which he related. The scene of the anecdote, General Doughty fixed as having occured a few rods South of the ruins of the New Jersey Hotel, and where a carpenter's shop now stands. Washington had purchased a young horse of great spirit, activity, and power, but not broken to the saddle. A man in the Army, noted for his braggadocio glorification of his own horsemanship, solicited the privilege of the General to break his horse to ride. Permission was given; and the General, with some of his friends, went out to the place already mentioned, to see the horse take his first lesson. After considerable preparation, the man leaped on the back of his mettlesome pupil, who, unaccustomed to that sort of incumbrance, began a series of frantic efforts to unhorse him; and, in a very few seconds, by a judicious planting of his fore feet and a skilful uplifting of his hind feet, he succeeded in sending his rider clean over his head. As the discomfited brag was landed so unceremoniously, but unhurt, Washington threw back his head and laughed boisterously, until the tears fairly ran down his face. General Doughty was wont to say that he never met a person who had ever heard Washington laugh loud, during the two Winters he spent in Morris-county, except on this single occasion! As such, the incident is worthy of memory.

As a picture of the times, and a fact with which to compare the present and the past, let me state that, during the Spring of 1780, whilst Washington was in Morristown, Jacob Johnson, father of the venerable Mahlon Johnson, who still survives, died on Morris-plains, three miles North of Morristown. He was a fine horseman, and belonged to Arnold's troop of Light Horse, in which service he caught the cold of which he finally died. His son, Mahlon, remembers, distinctly, that a large concourse of people attended his father's funeral, and that there was only one conveyance, on wheels, among them all, this being used to carry the corpse to the Morristown grave-yard. But there was a great cavalcade on horseback. Doctor Johnes, the minister, and the physician, each with a linen scarf on, and on horseback, led the procession; and many a horse, that day, carried a man in the saddle, and, behind him, was seated on a "riding cloth," his wife, or mother, or sister, or daughter. This was the funeral procession which attended to the grave the remains of a man of property and position, in the Parish of Morristown, in 1780. Certainly, manners and customs have undergone very considerable change, since that time; but, whether the change has been for the better, each one must decide for himself—probably, that plain, unostentatious procession contained as many warm, sympathizing, and unselfish hearts as the more courtly and better-bred processions which now visit the same "God's acre," in coaches and according to the rules of good society.

I have not spoken of the main encampment of that Winter, preferring to give a description of that and things connected with it, by themselves. To this part of the work, let us now address ourselves. On the thirtieth of November, 1779, General Greene, the Quarter-master-general, wrote from Morristown to one of the Quarter-masters of New Jersey, that "we are "yet like the wandering Jews in search of a "Jerusalem, not having fixt upon a position "for hutting the Army;" and he says that he has described two favorable positions to the Commander-in-chief, "the one near Equaca- "nock, the other near Mr. Kemble's, four miles "from this place." The next day, he writes to the same gentleman, that "the General has "fixed upon a place for hutting the Army near "Mr. Kimball's, within about four miles of "this Town. His reasons for this choice are "unnecessary to be explained, but, whatever "they are, they will prove very distressing to "the Quarter-master's Department. * * * * "I beg you will set every Wheel in motion that "will give dispatch to business." From this, it may be inferred that General Greene preferred the position near Aquackanock, as one more accessible, and also nearer to the more thickly settled Counties along the Hudson. His predictions, concerning the Commissary, were fulfilled more literally than he himself dreamed of.

The position actually chosen is one of the finest localities in Morris-county, and can be reached by two roads. The one principally travelled, that Winter, is the old road to Mendham, over "Kimbal's Hill," as it is called, to this day. The camping-ground is about four miles South-west from Morristown. Following the Baskingridge-road, four miles, through a region famous for its excellent soil and fine

scenery, with the mountain on your right, you come to the Kimbal property, now owned by H. A. Hoyt, Esq. Here you turn to the right, and ascend the highlands, for a mile, and you are on the ground which must be considered as consecrated by the unparalleled hardships of the American Army. The different camps where were quartered the troops from New England, the Middle, and the Southern States, were on the lands which then belonged to Mr. Kimbal and Mr. Wicke, including some one thousand acres. The house on the Wicke property, is still standing, very much as it was in that Winter; and it is worthy of a brief description. It is on the crown of the hill, whence you descend, westward, to Mendham and, eastward, to Morristown. In front of the house was an old black locust—cut down in 1870—at least two feet and a half in diameter; and at the East end is the largest red cedar I have ever seen. Both these trees were standing in 1780. In the immediate vicinity of the house, are several immense black cherry-trees, which belong to the same period. The house itself is nearly square, and is built in the old style of New England houses, with a famous large chimney-stack, in the centre. The very door which swung then is there still, hanging on the same substantial strap-hinges, and ornamented with the same old lion-headed knocker. Passing through this door, which fronts southward, you come into a hall some four feet deep and eight feet wide, its width being just the same as the thickness of the chimney. Turning to the right, you pass from the hall into the ordinary family-room, and to the left, into the parlor. A door from the family-room and the parlor leads you into the kitchen, which is about two-thirds the length of the house. The fire-places of these three rooms all belong to the one huge stone stack, in the centre; and everything about them remains as it then was. They would alarm modern economists, by their capacity to take in wood by the cord. The spaces above the old mantle-trees are filled up with pannel-work, and, in the parlor, especially, evidently were once quite fine, especially for that day. On the North side of the parlor, is a door leading into the spare bed-room, with which is connected an amusing incident. Great difficulty was experienced, in the Spring of 1780, in procuring teams to remove the army stores, and horses for Cavalry. Mr. Wicke's daughter, Tempe, owned a beautiful young horse, which she frequently rode, and always with skill. She was an admirable and a bold rider. One day, as the preparations for removing the Army were progressing, Miss Wicke rode her favorite horse to the house of her brother-in-law, Mr. Leddel, on the road to Mendham; and, on her return, was accosted by some soldiers, who commanded her to dismount and let them take the horse. One of them had seized the bridle-reins. Perfectly self-possessed, she appeared to submit to her fate, but not without a vain entreaty not to take her favorite from her. She then told them she was sorry to part with the animal, but as she must, she would ask two favors of them, the one was to return him to her, if possible; and the other was, whether they returned him or not, to treat him well. The soldiers were completely thrown off their guard, and the reins were released, they supposing she was about to dismount, than which nothing was farther from her intentions, for no sooner was the man's hand loose from the bridle than she touched her spirited horse with the whip, and he sped from among them like an arrow. As she was riding away, at full speed, they fired after her, but probably without intending to hit her; at any rate, she was unharmed. She urged her horse up the hill, at his highest speed, and coming round to the kitchen-door, on the North side of the house, she sprang off and led him into the kitchen, thence into the parlor, and thence into the spare bed-room, which had but one window, and that on the West side. This was secured with a shutter. The soldiers, shortly after, came up, searched the barn and the woods, in vain. Miss Wicke saved her horse, by keeping him in that bed-room, three weeks, until the last troop was fairly off. The incident, which is authentic, shows the adroitness and courage of the young lady, who, afterwards, became the wife of William Tuttle, an officer in the Jersey Brigade, during the entire War.

The descriptions of the different camps, which are to be given, are quite imperfect, but interesting; and, such as they are, are derived from the late Captain William Tuttle, who was stationed with the Jersey Troops during that Winter. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that some friendly pen was not ready to record the conversations of this fine old soldier, an officer in the Third Jersey Regiment, and perfectly acquainted with all the localities of the encampment on Kimbal-hill. He was twenty years old, at the time; and, from the conclusion of the War until his death, in 1836, he resided most of the time either on the Wicke Farm or in the immediate vicinity. Very often would he go over the ground, especially with his young relatives, pointing out the precise spots occupied by the different troops, and filling up hours with thrilling anecdotes connected with that Winter; but these conversations no one was at the pains to record, and now they are hopelessly gone. He enlisted in

the regular service, in 1777, and remained in it until Peace was declared. He suffered the exposures of Winter-quarters at Middle Brook, Valley Forge, and Kimbal-hill; was in the battles of Chad's Ford, Germantown, Brandywine, Monmouth, Springfield, and "others of less note"; was with LaFayette, in his Virginia Campaign; and was at the siege of York Town, and yet his careless relatives, culpably, have suffered his history to be shrunk into the compass of his own meager but modest affidavit, in the Pension Office.

As good fortune will have it, a former tenant on the Wicke farm occupied it several years before Captain Tuttle's death; and, in company with the old gentleman, frequently passed over the camp-grounds. Under Mr. Mucklow's direction, a small party of us passed over the various points of interest. Taking the old Wicke house as the starting point, we crossed the road, and, following in a South-west direction, came into a tract of timber, on an easy slope, and extending to a living spring brook. In the upper end of the woods, near the brook, we found the ruins of several hut-chimneys. Following the side hill, in the same direction as the stream, that is, in a South-east course, we found quite a large number of these stone chimneys; and, in some of them, the stones seem to be just as the soldiers left them. At one point, we counted two rows containing forty chimneys; some of them evidently belonging to double-huts. Just below these, we came into a fine level opening, almost bare of trees, and which may have been grubbed clean of stumps and roots for a parade ground. A few rods higher up the side of the hill, were other ruins, extending with some degree of regularity around the face of the hill, in a curve, until the row was terminated at a brook, on the East side, which puts into the stream already mentioned. On the crown of the hill is another row of ruins; and Captain Tuttle informed our guide that the cleared field, on the hill, was once covered with similar remains. Thus far, we counted one hundred and ninety-six of these; and had been over the ground occoupied by the Jersey Brigade. Frequently did Captain Tuttle relate the fact that he had seen the paths, leading from the Jersey camp to the Wicke house, marked with blood from the feet of the soldiers without shoes!

On the same side of the road, and near to it, is a cleared field. In this field a spring-brook rises, around which the hill slopes in the form of a horse shoe. On the North side of this was a slaughter-house; and a little lower down, on the same side, are the remains of the huts built for the Commissary-department, and in the vicinity of a beautiful spring. On the opposite side of the brook, we found several ruins, which, with those just mentioned, amounted to twenty-three. On the ground of the slaughter-house, Mr. Mucklow ploughed up an old bayonet.

Crossing the road, directly opposite this point, we came into a cleared field which is in the Southern slope of Fort Hill. Along the road fence, is a row of stones which were in the hut fire-places, and which were drawn off to clear the ground for ploughing; but higher up in the woods are several remains. East of this lot, and lower down the hill, is an open field, in which we saw several rows, in regular order, containing sixty fire-places; and thence, following the curve of the hill, in a North-east course, in regular rows, we counted one hundred more. We were informed that the remains are to be seen around the entire hill; but want of time forbade our pursuing the inquiry farther.

We now ascended Fort-hill, around the sides of which we had been walking for some time. It is shaped like a sugar-loaf; and, from the North-east to the South-east, its sides are very steep, making the ascent not a little difficult. I was on this point, in the Spring, before the leaves had put out; and the view from it is surpassingly beautiful. Fort Hill, is one of the most commanding points in Morris-county. Westward, you can see the Schooley's Mountain range and, as I fancied, the mountains along the Delaware. Southward, is a fine range of highlands, in the midst of which is Baskingridge, (where General Lee was captured) so distinct that, with a glass, you can tell what is doing in its streets. South-east of you, Long-hill and Plainfield Mountain streteh far in the distance, from the top of which, you may see from New York to New Brunswick, if not to the Delaware. East of you, are the Short-hills, so famous as the watch-tower of freedom, during the Revolutionary War, and on which, night and day, sentinels were observing the country along the Hackinsac, Passaic, and Raritan, and even to New York and the Narrows. North-east, you can see the two twin mountains, in the vicinity of Ringwood; and, beyond that, the blue-tinged mountains, towards Newburgh. Between these prominent points are intervening landseapes, beautiful as the eye ever rested on. But of this, more in another place.

At the East and North-east, on the top of Fort-hill, are some remains not like those we had previously examined. They evidently were not the ruins of breast-works, but seem to have been designed to prepare level places, for the free movements of artillery; and a close inspection shows that cannon stationed at those

two points, on the hill top, would sweep the entire face of the hill, in case of an attack. This, undoubtedly, was the design. In the immediate vicinity, are the remains of quite a number of hut-chimneys, probably occupied by a detachment of artillery-men.

Passing down the West side of Fort-hill, towards the old house, we came into what has always been called the Jockey Hollow-road, at a place which tradition points out as the spot where Captain Billings was shot, when the Pennsylvania troops mutinied, on New Year's day, 1781. The aged mother of Mr. Robert K. Tuttle of Morristown, pointed out a black oak tree, by the roadside, as near the spot where the unfortunate man was shot down, and buried in the road where he was killed. Mrs. Tuttle was, at the time, living on a part of the Wicke farm, so that the tradition is undoubtedly true.

We now returned to the house in order to visit Hospital Field, as it is still called, and also the Maryland Field, so called because the Maryland troops were there encamped, during the Winter of 1779-'80. These fields are about half a mile North from the house. Hospital Field is on the slope of a high hill, facing East and South-east; and, at the bottom, is a fine spring-brook, in the vicinity of which were huts for the hospitals. Of these there are no remains, as the plough has long since obliterated them; but, near by, is a most interesting place, marked by a grove of locust trees, planted to protect the graves from the plough. Here are two rows of graves where were buried those who died at the hospitals, that Winter. A granite monument ought to be built, immediately, there, to commemorate those unnamed men, who died whilst in the service of their country. The length of space occupied by the graves, as far as can now be seen, is about one hundred and seventy feet, thus making a single row of graves about three hundred and forty feet long. The graves evidently are near together, so that quite a large number must have died in the hospitals, that Winter. Whether there was any other burying-ground used, it is impossible now to determine; but it is very probable, that the hill-sides, in the vicinity, contain many graves which will remain unknown until the morning of the resurrection.

Directly East from Hospital Field, on a hill opposite, the Maryland troops and, perhaps, the Virginia were "hutted;" but we were assured that no remains are left, as the ground has all been ploughed, so that we did not visit it. In all, we had counted three hundred and sixty-five chimney foundations, marking the sites of as many huts, besides many which, inadvertently, we omitted to count. We must have seen more than four hundred in all; and I am thus particular in describing their positions, because a few years more may entirely obliterate all traces of the camps on Kimball-hill.

If we return to the top of Fort-hill, and cast the eye over the prominent points already mentioned, we shall perceive how admirably they are adapted for the purpose of spreading alarm by means of beacon-fires. The ranges of the Short and Long-hills and Plainfield Mountain, on the South-east and East, Schooley's Mountain, on the West, the mountains near Ringwood and along the new York line, on the North and North-east, all are as distinct as light-houses. Very early in the War, there was a beacon-station, on the Short-hills, near the country residence of the late Bishop Hobart; but, in the Winter of 1778-'9, Washington communicated to the Governor of New Jersey a plan for establishing these beacons throughout the State; and, in accordance with his request, on the ninth of April, 1779, General Philemon Dickinson, one of the most able Militia officers in the State, was instructed to carry the plan into effect. Hitherto, no traces of a written plan have been found, but there can be no doubt as to some of the locations. That on the Short hills is remembered by persons still living—1854—from whom the Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle derived the account he gives of the matter. "On that commanding elevation," writes Mr. Tuttle, in his *Lecture on Bottle Hill during the Revolution*, "the means were kept "for alarming the inhabitants of the interior, "in case of any threatening movement of the "enemy, in any direction. A cannon, an eigh-"teen-pounder—called in those times 'the old "'sow'—fired every half hour, answered this "object in the daytime and in very stormy and "dark nights; while an immense fire or beacon-"light answered the end at all other times. A "log-house or two * * * * were erected "there for the use of the sentinels, who, by re-"lieving one another, at definite intervals, kept "careful watch, day and night, their eyes contin-"ually sweeping over the vast extent of country "that lay stretched out like a map before them. "The beacon-light was constructed of dry wood, "piled around a high-pole; this was filled with "combustible materials;" and a tar-barrel was "placed upon the top of the pole. When the "sentinels discovered any movement of the "enemy, of a threatening character, or such "tidings were brought them by messengers, "either the alarm-gun was fired or the beacon-"fire kindled, so that the tidings were quickly "spread over the whole region. There are sev-"eral persons still living in this place, who "remember to have heard that dismal alarm-

"gun, and to have seen those beacon-lights "sending out their baleful and terrific light "from that high point of observation; and "who also remember to have seen the inhabi-"tants, armed with their muskets, making all "possible haste to Chatham-bridge and the "Short-hills."

That there was a system of beacon-lights, there can be no doubt, although, unfortunately, the most of those are dead who could give us information about it, and there are no documents describing the various points where these lights were kindled. Of one, we have some knowledge. Seven miles North of Morristown, near the present Rail-road Depot, at Denville, is a mountain which rises abruptly to a considerable height, from which you can see the Short-hills. On this point, there was a beacon-light, managed by Captain Josiah Hall, whose descendants still reside in the vicinity. A fire from this point would be seen from the top of Green Pond mountain, several miles farther North; and a fire on that mountain would probably reach the portion of Sussex-county where the brave Colonel Seward, grandfather of Senator Seward, resided. Tradition says, that such was the case; and that, often, at night, the tongue of fire might be seen leaping into the air on the Short-hills, soon to be followed by brilliant lights on Fort-hill, on the Denville-mountain, the Green Pond-mountain, and on the range of mountains on the Orange-county line. To many, it has seemed inexplicable, and it was so to the enemy, that they could not make a movement towards the hills of Morris, without meeting the yeomen of Morris, armed and ready to repel them. I have conversed with several old men who have seen the roads converging on Morristown and Chatham, lined with men who were hurrying off to the Short-hills, to drive back the invaders. The alarm-gun and the beacon-light explain the mystery; and, as an illustration of scenes frequently witnessed, I may give an incident in the life of an old soldier, by the name of Bishop, who was living at Mendham. He was one morning engaged in stacking his wheat, with a hired man, when the alarm-gun pealed out its warning. "I must go," exclaimed Bishop. "You had better take care of your wheat," said his man. Again they heard the dull, heavy sound of the alarm-gun; and instantly Bishop slid down from the stack, exclaiming, "I can't "stand this. Get along with the grain, the "best way you can. I'm off to the rescue!" Hastily, he packed a small budget of provisions; and, shouldering his musket, in a few minutes, he was on the way to Morristown. He says that, on his way there, he found men issuing from every road, equipped just as they left their fields and shops, so that, by the time he reached town, he was one of a large company. Here they were met by a messenger who said the enemy was retreating. It was by such alacrity that it came to be a boast of the Morris-county people, that the enemy had never been able to gain a footing among these hills. They frequently made the attempt, but never succeeded. Once, as it is said, for purpose of exchanging prisoners, a detachment did reach Chatham-bridge, which was guarded by brave General Winds, to whom the braggart Captain sent word that he proposed to dine next day in Morristown. The message called out the somewhat expressive reply, that "if he dined in "Morristown, next day, he would sup in ——" (the place infernal) "next night!"

So far as possible, let us now relate the facts which show the sufferings and heroism of our soldiers, on Kimbal-hill, the Winter of 1779–'80. On the ninth of December, General Greene wrote, "Our hutting goes on rapidly, and the "troops will be under cover in a few days. "The officers will remain in the open field un-"til the boards (from Trenton) arrive, and as "their sufferings are great, they will be propor-"tionably clamorous." The New England troops, on the ninth of that month, were at Pompton; and Doctor Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, says, "On the fourteenth, we reached "this wilderness, about three miles from Morris-"town, where we are to build huts for Winter-"quarters." The severity of the Winter may be inferred from Doctor Thacher's description. "The snow on the ground is about two feet deep "and the weather extremely cold; the soldiers "are destitute of both tents and blankets, and "some of them are actually bare-footed and "almost naked. Our only defence against the "inclemency of the weather consists of brush-"wood, thrown together. Our lodging, the "last night, was on the frozen ground. Those "officers who have the privilege of a horse can "always have a blanket at hand. Having re-"moved the snow, we wrapped ourselves in "great coats, spread our blankets on the "ground, and lay down by the side of each "other, five or six together, with large fires at "our feet, leaving orders with the waiters to "keep it well supplied with fuel during the "night. We could procure neither shelter nor "forage for our horses; and the poor animals "were tied to the trees, in the woods, for twen-"ty-four hours, without food, except the bark "which they peeled from the trees." "The "whole Army, in this department, are to be en-"gaged in building log-huts for Winter quar-"ters. The ground is marked, and the soldiers "have commenced cutting down the timber of "oak and walnut, of which we have great

"abundance. Our baggage has, at length, ar-
"rived; the men find it very difficult to piteh
"their tents, in the frozen ground; and, not-
"withstanding large fires, we can scarcely keep
"from freezing. In addition to other suffer-
"ings, the whole Army has been seven or eight
"days entirely destitute of the staff of life;
"our only food is miserable fresh beef, without
"bread, salt, or vegetables." (*Military Journal*, 176, 177.)

The general fact that that Winter was one of terrible severity is well known; but we may obtain more vivid ideas of this fact by a few details. In the *New Jersey Gazette* of February 9th, 1780, published at Trenton, the editor says, "The weather has been so extremely cold, "for near two months past, that sleighs and "other carriages now pass from this place to "Philadelphia, *on the Delaware*, a circumstance "not remembered by the oldest person among "us." As early as the eighteenth of December, 1779, an officer, who visited some of the smaller encampments along the hills, in the vicinity, writes, "I found the weather excessively cold." (*New Jersey Gazette*, December 22, 1779.) On the fourteenth of January, Lord Stirling led a detachment against the enemy, on Staten Island; and, on the morning of the fifteenth, he crossed on the ice, from Elizabethtown-Point. (*Life of Stirling*, 206; Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 447.) The Hudson was so bridged with ice as to permit foot-passengers to cross from New York to Hoboken and Paulus Hook.

But the unparalleled depth of snow added to the intense sufferings of the soldiers. On the fourteenth of December, as Thacher says, the "snow was two feet deep." On the twenty-eighth of December, an officer says, in the *New Jersey Gazette*, "while I am writing, the "storm is raging without." But the great storm of the Winter began on the third of January, when the greater part of the Army were not protected by the huts, which were not yet ready for occupation. Doctor Thacher thus describes the storm (*Military Journal*, 181); "On the 3d inst" [*January*, 1780] "we "experienced one of the most tremendous "snow storms ever remembered: no man could "endure its violence many minutes without "danger to his life. Several marquees were "torn asunder and blown down, over the offi-"cers' heads, in the night, and some of the "soldiers were actually covered while in their "tents and buried, like sheep, under the snow. "My comrades and myself were roused from "sleep by the calls of some officers for assist-"ance; their marquee had blown down, and "they were almost smothered in the storm, "before they could reach our marquee, only a "few yards, and their blankets and baggage "were nearly buried in the snow. We (the "officers) are greatly favored in having a sup-"ply of straw for bedding; over this we "spread all our blankets, and with our clothes "and large fires at our feet, while four or five "are crowded together, preserve ourselves from "freezing. But the sufferings of the poor sol-"diers can scarcely be described; while on "duty they are unavoidably exposed to all the "inclemency of the storm and severe cold; at "night, they now have a bed of straw on the "ground and a single blanket to each man; "they are badly clad and some are destitute of "shoes. We have contrived a kind of stone "chimney, outside, and an opening at one end "of our tents gives us the benefit of the fire "within. The snow is now from four to six "feet deep, which so obstructs the roads as to "prevent our receiving a supply of provisions. "For the last ten days, we received but two "pounds of meat a man, and we are frequent-"ly for six or eight days entirely destitute of "meat and then as long without bread. The "consequence is, the soldiers are so enfeebled "from hunger and cold, as to be almost unable "to perform military duty or labor in con-"structing their huts. It is well known that "General Washington experiences the greatest "solicitude for the sufferings of his Army and "is sensible that they in general conduct with "heroic patience and fortitude."

This storm continued for several days, accompanied with violent winds, which drifted the snow so that the roads were impassable. So deep was the snow, that, in many places, it covered the tops of the fences, and teams could be driven over them. Under date of "Janu-"ary 22d, 1780," an officer on Kimbal-hill wrote the following lively description of the condition of the Army, in consequence of this storm: "We had a Fast, lately, in Camp, by "general *constraint*, of the whole Army; in "which we fasted more sincerely and truly for "*three days*, than we ever did from all the "Resolutions of Congress put together. This "was occasioned by the severity of the weather "and drifting of the snow, whereby the roads "were rendered impassable and all supplies of "provision cut off, until the officers were "obliged to release the soldiers from command, "and permit them to go in great numbers to-"gether, to get provisions where they could find "them. The inhabitants of this part of the "country discovered a noble spirit in feeding "the soldiers; and, to the honor of the soldiery, "they received what they got with thankful-"ness, and did little or no damage." (*New Jersey Gazette*, January 26th, 1780.)

The manuscript letters of Joseph Lewis,

Quarter-master at Morristown, prove this description to be truthful. On the eighth of January, he wrote, "We are now as distressed as "want of Provision and Cash can make us. "The soldiers have been reduced to the ne- "cessity of robbing the inhabitants, to save "their own lives." On the next day, he wrote, "We are still in distress for want of provisions. "Our Magistrates, as well as small detachments "from the Army, are busy collecting to relieve "our distresses; and I am told that the troops "already experience the good effects of their "industry. We are wishing for more plentiful "supplies." And, in real distress, he writes under the same date, "the sixty million dollars "lately collected by tax, must be put into the "hands of the Superintendent for the new pur- "chases. You will therefore have but little "chance of getting Cash until more is *made*. "If none comes sooner than by striking new "emissions, I must run away from Morris "and live with you at Trenton or some other "place, more remote from this, to secure me "from the already enraged multitudes."

On the eighth of January, General Washington wrote from the Ford mansion, the comforts of which must have made the sufferings of his soldiers seem the more awful: "The present "state of the Army, with respect to provisions, "is the most distressing of any we have experi- "enced since the beginning of the War. For a "fortnight past, the troops, both officers and "men, have been almost perishing for want. "They have been alternately without bread or "meat, the whole time, with a very scanty al- "lowance of either, and frequently destitute of "both. They have borne their sufferings with "a patience that merits the approbation, and "ought to excite the sympathy, of their coun- "trymen. But they are now reduced to an ex- "tremity no longer to be supported." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 439.) This letter, which was addressed to "the Magistrates of "New Jersey," is one of the noblest productions of his pen; and right nobly did those, thus feelingly addressed, respond to the appeal. And in this, none were superior to the people of Morris-county, on whom, of necessity, fell the burden of affording immediate relief, and whose efforts did not cease when this was effected. On the twentieth of January, Washington wrote to Doctor John Witherspoon, that "all the Counties of this State that I have "heard from, have attended to my requisition "for provisions, with the most cheerful and "commendable zeal;" and to "Elbridge Gerry, "in Congress," he wrote, "the exertions of the "Magistrates and inhabitants of this State "were great and cheerful for our relief." (Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, vi., 448, 456.) In his *Military Journal* (page 182), Doctor Thacher speaks, with enthusiasm, of "the "ample supply" of food furnished by "the "Magistrates and people of Jersey;" and Isaac Collins, Editor of the *New Jersey Gazette*, on the nineteenth of January, says, "With plea- "sure, we inform our readers, that our Army, "which the unexpected inclemency of the sea- "son and the roads becoming almost impassa- "ble, had suffered a few days for want of pro- "visions, are, from the spirited exertions now "making, likely to be well supplied."

It was during this season of distress, that Hannah Carey, wife of Captain David Thompson, of Mendham, one day, fed troop after troop of hungry soldiers; and as they told her they had no means of paying her, she said to them, "Eat what you want; you are engaged in a "good cause; and we are willing to share with "you, what we have, as long as it lasts!" and Hannah Carey Thompson was only one of a great company of women, like-minded with herself. It is true, she gave an impudent Tory such a reception of scalding water, on a certain occasion, as made him roar with pain and, in future, abstain from such acts; but then her heart was large towards the suffering defenders of her country. In Whippany, the potatoe-bin, the meat-bag, and the granary of Uzal and Anna Kitchel always had some comfort for the patriotic soldiers; and the ample farm of old General Winds, of Rockaway, had not borne harvests too good for him to bestow on his brethren-in-arms. Often, the soldiers, goaded by hunger, would go several miles to beg or steal a little food; and, in some such excursion, it happened that Elizabeth Pierson, second wife of Parson Green, of Hanover, "par- "ticularly lamented the loss of a fat turkey "that had been reserved for a Christmas din- "ner;" but her husband, although his son, Ashbel, never remembered to have seen him smile, perpetrated quite a scriptural joke, "when he "rather excused what the soldiers had done, "by quoting these words from the *Book of Pro- "verbs*, 'Men do not despise a thief, if he steal "'to satisfy his soul when he is hungry!'" Provisions came, with a right hearty good will, from the farmers in Mendham, Chatham, Hanover, Morris, and Pequannock; and not only provisions, but stockings and shoes, coats and blankets. Over on Smith's Hammock, as it was called, beyond Hanover Neck, Ralph Smith's mother assembled the patriot women to sew and knit for the soldiers. In Whippany, Anna Kitchel and her neighbors are at the same good work; and, in Morristown, "Mrs. Parson Johnes" and "Mrs. Counsellor "Condict," with all the noble women in the town, made the sewing and knitting-needles

fly on their mission of mercy. The memory of the Morris-county women of that day is yet as delightful as the "smell of a field which the "Lord hath blessed!" and this tribute to their worth is not woven up of fictions, but of facts, gathered from living lips, and, therefore, never may those women perish from the memory of their admiring and grateful descendants.

The generosity of which we have spoken is much enhanced by the fact, that the people supposed themselves to be *giving*, and not *selling*, their provisions. According to the prices —Continental Currency—affixed to various articles, by the Magistrates of Morris-county, in January, 1780, they gave away thousands o dollars to soldiers at their tables; and as for provisions, nominally sold, they were paid for either in Continental bills or certificates, both of which they considered as nearly worthless. Their opinion of the bills was not wrong, since, after the War, hundreds of thousands of dollars were left on their hands, which were never redeemed; but many of them made a serious mistake in their estimate of the certificates which were redeemed with interest. Yet many of these men threw these certificates away, as worthless, and esteemed themselves as doing an unpaid duty to their country.

It is interesting to ascertain the prices of various articles used in the Camp, that Winter. On the twenty-seventh of January, Quarter-master Lewis wrote: "The Justices, at their meeting, "established the following prices to be given for "Hay and Grain thoughout the County [*of Morris*], from the 1st of December, 1779, to the 1st "of February next, or until the Regulating Act "take place.

"For Hay, 1st Quality,	£100	per ton.
" " " 2d "	£ 80	" "
" " " 3d "	£ 50	" "
" " for one horse, 24 hours,	6	dollars.
" " " per night,	4	"
"Wheat, per bushel,	50	"
"Rye, " "	35	"
"Corn, " "	30	"
"Buckwheat and Oats,	20	""

This, certainly, is rather a startling "Price "Current;" but it was only in keeping with such significant advertisements as frequently appeared in the papers of that day: "One "Thousand *Dollars Reward*" for the recovery of "my negro man, Toney;" or "Thirty *Spanish Milled Dollars*," for the recovery of my runaway "Mulatto Fellow, Jack." "Forty "paper dollars were worth only one in specie;" and the fact increases our wonder, alike at the patriotism of the people and soldiers, which was sufficient to keep the Army from open mutiny or being entirely disbanded.

To leave this gloomy side of the picture, a little while, it is well to record the fact that, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1779, whilst the snow "storm was raging," Martha Washington passed through Trenton, on her way to Morristown; and that a troop of gallant Virginians, stationed there, were paraded to do her honor, being very proud to own her as a Virginian, and her husband also. She spent New Year's Day in Morristown; and now, in the Ford mansion, you may see the very mirror in which her dignified form has often been reflected. The wife of the American Commander-in-chief received her company, did the honors of her family, and even appeared, occasionally, at the "Assembly "Balls," that Winter, dressed in American stuffs. It is a pleasing anecdote, which was once told me by the late Mrs. Abby Vail, daughter of Uzal and Anna Kitchel. Some of the ladies in Hanover, and, among them, "the "stately Madame Budd," mother of Doctor Bern Budd, dressed in their best, made a call on Lady Washington, and, as one of them afterwards said, "we were dressed in our most "elegant silks and ruffles, and so were intro- "duced to her ladyship. And don't you "think, we found her with a *speckled homespun "apron on, and engaged in knitting a stocking!* "She received us very handsomely, and then "resumed her knitting. In the course of her "conversation, she said, very kindly, to us, "whilst she made her needles fly, that American "ladies should be patterns of industry to their "countrywomen; * * we must become inde- "pendent of England by doing without those "articles which we can make ourselves. Whilst "our husbands and brothers are examples of "patriotism, we must be examples of industry!" "I do declare," said one of them, afterwards, "I never felt so ashamed and rebuked in my "life!" It is very possible that Martha Washington, with her knitting-needles and homespun dress, might not be admitted into the same circle with our modern "Potiphars;" and yet she *does* shine beautifully, in this little scene, proving herself the worthy companion of the illustrious Washington.

From documents, not very important in themselves, we sometimes derive impressive lessons. The original of the following subscription for Assembly Balls in Morristown, that Winter, is still in possession of the Biddle family, on the Delaware: "The subscribers "agree to pay the sums annexed to their re- "spective names and an equal quota of any "further expence which may be incurred in "the promotion and support of a dancing As- "sembly to be held in Morristown, the present

"winter of 1780. Subscription Moneys to be "paid into the hands of a Treasurer hereafter "to be appointed.

"Nath. Greene	400 dolls paid
"H. Knox	400 ditto paid
"John Lawrence	400 dolls paid
"J. Wilkinson,	400 dolls paid
"Clement Biddle	400 dolls paid
"Robt. H. Harrison	400 dolls paid
"R. K. Meade	400 dolls paid
"Alex. Hamilton	400 dolls paid
"Tench Tighlman	400 dolls paid
"C. Gibbs	400 dolls paid
"Jno. Pierce	400 dolls paid
"The Baron de Kalb	400 dolls paid
"Jno. Moylan	400 dolls paid
"Le Ch. Dulingsley	400 dols paid
"Geo. Washington	paid F. D. ($400.)
"R. Clairborne	pd 400 dolls.
"Lord Stirling	pd 400 dolls
"Col. Hazen	pd 400 dolls
"Asa Worthington	pd 400 dolls
"Benj. Brown	pd 400 dolls
"Major Stagg	pd 400 dolls
"James Thompson	pd 400 dolls
"H. Jackson	pd 400 dolls
"Col. Thomas Proctor	pd 400 dolls
"J. B. Cutting	pd 400 dolls
"Edward Hand	pd 400 dolls
"William Little	pd 400 dolls
"Thos. Woolford	pd 400 dolls."
"Geo. Olney	400 dolls paid
"Jas. Abeel	400 dolls paid
"Robert Erskine	400 dolls paid
"Jno. Cochran	400 dolls paid
"Geo. Draper	400 dolls paid
"J. Burnet	400 dolls paid."

The amounts thus "paid" constitute the somewhat imposing sum of thirteen thousand, six hundred dollars "for the support of a "dancing Assembly the present winter of 1780." Now I frankly confess that this paper produced an uncomfortable sensation in my mind, by the somewhat harsh contrast between the dancing of the well-housed officers, at O'Hara's tavern, and the "hungry ruin" at Kimbal-hill. The Assembly was not so well set off with gas-lights and fashionable splendor as many a Ball in our day. No doubt it was rather a plain affair, of its kind; and yet it reminds one that, while these distinguished men were tripping "the "light fantastic toe," in well-warmed rooms, there were, at that very time, as Captain William Tuttle often told it, a great many tents in which there were soldiers without coats and barefooted, shivering and perishing in the fearful storms and cold of that same "present win-"ter of 1780;" and that there were paths about the camps, on Kimbal-hill, that were marked with real blood expressed from the cracked and frozen feet of soldiers who had no shoes!

However, I do not allude to this contrast as peculiar to that place and those men, for feasting and starvation, plenty crowned with wreaths of yellow wheat and gaunt famine wreathed in rags and barefoot, dancing and dying, are facts put in contrast in other places beside O'Hara's and Kimbal-Hill, and at other times than "the present winter of 1780."

The principal object of introducing the subscription-paper here is to show the kind of currency on which our Revolution was compelled to rely. Here we find the leading men in Morristown, paying a sum for the dancing-master and landlord, the ministers of a little amusement, which, nominally, is large enough for the high figures of Fifth Avenue *millionaires;* but a closer inspection shows that the sum of thirteen thousand dollars was not worth as much as three hundred silver dollars. Doctor Thacher says, significantly, "I have just seen in the "newspaper an advertisement offering for an "article forty dollars. This is the trash which "is tendered to requite us for our sacrifices, "sufferings, and privations, while in the service "of our country. It is but a sordid pittance, "even for our common purposes, while in camp; "but those who have families dependent on "them, at home, are reduced to a deplorable "condition." The officers of the Jersey troops, in their Memorial to the Legislature of New Jersey, declare "that four months' pay of a "soldier would not procure for his family a "bushel of wheat; that the pay of a Colonel "would not purchase oats for his horse; that a "common laborer or express-rider received four "times as much as an American officer."

If such were their circumstances, let us rather admire than condemn these brave men, at Morristown, who were striving to invest the stern severities of that Winter with something of the gayer and more frivolous courtesies of fashionable life.

As for fighting, there was but little, the principal expedition being the descent of a detachment on Staten Island, under Lord Stirling. The expectations raised by this expedition are quite flatteringly told in an unpublished letter of Joseph Lewis, Quarter-master. He writes, under date of "January 15th 1780," that he had orders from General Greene "to procure "three hundred sleds or sleighs to parade Fri-"day Morning at this post and at Mr. Kim-"ble's * ° * * . I did not fail to exert "myself on the occasion, and the Magistrates "gained deserved applause. About five hun-"dred sleds or sleighs were collected, the ma-"jority of which were loaded with troops, "artillery, &c. These sleds and as many more "are to return loaded with stores from the

"British Magazines, on Staten Island, except "some few that are to he loaded with wounded "British Prisoners. About 3000 troops are "gone, under the command of Lord Stirling, "with a determination to remove all Staten "Island, bag and baggage, to Morristown!" (*MS. Letter of Joseph Lewis.*)

This expedition failed of realizing its object, because the enemy, by some means, had been put on his guard. Still, Collins of the *New Jersey Gazette*, was sure it would "shew the "British mercenaries with what zeal and alacri- "ty the Americans will embrace every oppor- "tunity, even in a very inclement season, to "promote the interests of the country by har- "assing the enemies to their freedom and inde- "pendence." (*New Jersey Gazette*, January 19th 1780). And, on the twenty-second of that January, Quarter-master Lewis wrote in quite a subdued tone, "I suppose you have heard of "the success of our late expedition to Staten "Island. It was expensive but answered no "valuable purpose. It shewed the inclination "of our inhabitants to plunder." (*MS. Letter J. Lewis.*) This expedition was at a time when "the cold was intense;" and about five hun- dred of the soldiers had their feet frozen.

The enemy, by way of retaliation, on the twenty-fifth of January, crossed to Elizabeth- town and burnt the Town-house and Presbyte- rian Church. They also "plundered the house "of Jecaniah Smith." The same night, another party "made an excursion to Newark, surprized "the guard there, took Mr. Justice Hedden out "of his bed, and would not suffer him to dress; "they also took Mr. Robert Niel, burnt the "Academy, and went off with precipitation." Rivington's *Royal Gazette* speaks of this Jus- tice Hedden as "a rebel magistrate remarkable "for his persecuting spirit." (*New Jersey Ga- zette*, February 2d and 16th 1780). It was mar- vellous that Hedden survived that march, in such weather, from Newark to New York; but the tough man was nerved thereto by his brutal captors.

But have the troops enough to eat? General Greene's letter to "the Colonel of the Morris- "town Militia" gives us a most sorrowful an- swer. "The Army," writes Greene, in Janu- ary, "is upon the point of disbanding for "want of provisions; the poor soldiers having "been for several days without any, and there "is not being more than a sufficiency to serve "one Regiment in the Magazine. Provisions "are scarce at best; but the late terrible storm, "the depth of the snow, and the drifts in the "roads prevent the little stock from coming "forward, which is in readiness, at the distant "Magazines. This is, therefore, to request you "to call upon the Militia-officers and men of "your Battalion to turn out their teams and "break the roads, from between this and Hack- "ettstown, there being a small quantity of pro- "visions, there, that cannot come until that is "done. The roads must be kept open by the "inhabitants, or the Army cannot be subsisted. "And, unless the good people immediately lend "their assistance to forward supplies, the Army "must disband. The direful consequences of "such an event I will not torture your feelings "with a description of; but remember the sur- "rounding inhabitants will experience the first "melancholy effects of such a raging evil." (Johnston's *Life and Correspondence of Nathan- iel Greene*, i., 146.)

On the eleventh of January, Greene wrote, "such weather as we have had, never did I "feel," and the snow was so deep and drifted "that we drive over the tops of the fences." He then describes the sufferings of the soldiers, and adds, "they have displayed a degree of "magnanimity, under their sufferings, which "does them the highest honor." (*Ibid*, 148.) On the tenth of March, Joseph Lewis tells his superior officer, "I should be happy to receive "about fifty thousand dollars to persuade the "wagoners to stay in Camp until May, which "will prevent the troops from suffering." And on the twenty-eighth of the same month, he again writes, "I am no longer able to procure a "single team to relieve the distresses of our "Army, to bring in a supply of wood, or for- "ward the stores which are absolutely neces- "sary. * * * * * I wish I could inhabit "some kind retreat from those dreadful com- "plaints, unless I had a house filled with money "and a Magazine of Forage to guard and pro- "tect me." "Good God! where are our re- "sources fled? We are truly in a most pitiful "situation and almost distracted with calls "that it is not in our power to answer."! (*MS. Letter of J. Lewis.*)

But there is another fact which adds a deeper shade to this picture of suffering, since, from Thacher's *Military Journal*, we have this sentence, in which, with no little exultation, he says, "having to this late season—February "14th—in our tents, experienced the greatest "inconvenience, we have now the satisfaction "of taking possession of the log-huts just com- "pleted by our soldiers, where we shall have "more comfortable accommodations;" and yet, in March, he says, "our soldiers are in a "wretched condition for want of clothes, "blankets, and shoes; and these calamitous "circumstances are accompanied by a want of "provisions." (Thacher's *Military Journal*, 187.)

From these letters, written by actual wit- nesses, we are able to gather enough of facts to

aid us in appreciating the condition of the Army.

I may appropriately close this historical monograph with an original letter of Washington, which has never yet been published, and which is a very striking commentary on the difficulties of his position the last Winter he was in Morristown. It was found among some old papers, in the possession of Stephen Thompson, Esq., of Mendham, New Jersey, a son of Captain David Thompson, who is referred to in this article. It will be remembered that the great snow-storm which caused such distress in the camp, began on the third of January, 1780. The famine which threatened the Army, caused Washington to write a letter "to the Magis-"trates of New Jersey," which is published in Sparks's editions of the *Writings of Washington*. A copy of that letter was inclosed in the letter which is now published for the first time. It is a valuable letter, as showing that Washington's "integrity was most pure, his justice "most inflexible."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, *January* 8, 1780.

"SIR,—The present distresses of the Army, "with which you are well acquainted, have de-"termined me to call upon the respective Coun-"ties of the State for a proportion of grain "and cattle, according to the abilities of each.

"For this purpose, I have addressed the "Magistrates of every County, to induce them "to undertake the business. This mode I "have preferred as the one least inconvenient "to the inhabitants; but, in case the requisi-"tion should not be complied with, we must "then raise the supplies ourselves in the best "manner we can. This I have signified to the "Magistrates.

"I have pitched upon you to superintend the "execution of this measure in the County of "Bergen, which is to furnish two hundred "head of cattle and eight hundred bushels of "grain.

"You will proceed, then, with all dispatch, "and, calling upon the Justices, will deliver "the inclosed Address, enforcing it with a "more particular detail of the sufferings of the "troops, the better to convince them of the ne-"cessity of their exertions. You will, at the "same time, let them delicately know that you "are instructed, in case they do not take up "the business immediately, to begin to impress "the articles called for throughout the County. "You will press for an immediate answer, and "govern yourself accordingly. If it be a com-"pliance, you will concert with them a proper "place for the reception of the articles and the "time of the delivery, which, for the whole, is "to be in four days after your application to "them. The owners will bring their grain "and cattle to this place, where the grain is to "be measured and the cattle estimated by any "two of the Magistrates, in conjunction with "the Commissary, Mr. Vorhes, who will be sent "to you for the purpose, and certificates given "by the Commissary, specifying the quantity "of each article and the terms of payment. "These are to be previously settled with the "owners, who are to choose whether they will "receive the present market price—which, if "preferred, is to be inserted—or the market "price at the time of payment. Immediately "on receiving the answer of the Magistrates, "you will send me word what it is.

"In case of refusal, you will begin to impress "till you make up the quantity required. This "you will do with as much tenderness as possi-"ble to the inhabitants, having regard to the "stock of each individual, that no family may "be deprived of its necessary subsistence. "Milch cows are not to be included in the im-"press. To enable you to execute this business "with more effect and less inconvenience, you "will call upon Colonel Fell and any other well-"affected active man in the County, and en-"deavor to engage their advice and assistance. "You are also authorized to impress wagons "for the transportation of the grain.

"If the Magistrates undertake the business, "which I should infinitely prefer, on every ac-"count, you will endeavor to prevail upon "them to assign mills for the reception and "preparation of such grain as the Commissary "thinks will not be immediately needful in the "Camp.

"I have reposed this trust in you from a "perfect confidence in your prudence, zeal, and "respect for the rights of citizens. While "your measures are adapted to the emergency, "and you consult what you owe to the service, "I am persuaded you will not forget that, as "we are compelled by necessity to take the "property of citizens for the support of the "Army, on whom their safety depends, you "should be careful to manifest that we have a "respect for their rights, and wish not to do "any thing which that necessity, and even "their own good, do not absolutely require.

"I am, Sir, with great respect and esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"G°. WASHINGTON.

"P.S. After reading the letter to the Jus-"tices you will seal it.

"LT. COL. DE HART."

II.—GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN.*

An Autobiography.

In looking over some family papers, lately, we found the annexed scrap; it appears to have been the commencement of some memoranda, addressed, we believe, to General Henry Lee, of Virginia, as we remember, that, in the year 1800, this gentleman was calling upon the old officers to furnish him with materials for a work, which he has since published, under the title of a *History of the Southern Campaign*. It is written by the late General Daniel Morgan, of Winchester, in Virginia; and contains a part of the attack on Quebec, by Montgomery. It is a hasty thing, and the production of a man who wielded the sword better than the pen; who could marshall his forces for an engagement, better than he could arrange materials for a history. We regret that we cannot find the remainder of the letter.

"Dear Sir,

"To give you my history during the War, I "must begin in 1774, when I served an active "and hard campaign under Lord Dunmore, "against the Indians. After we had beat them, "and reduced them to order, and were on our "return home, we heard, at the mouth of the "Hockhocking, on the Ohio, that hostilities "were offered to our brethren, the people of "Boston. We, as an Army, immediately form-"ed ourselves into a society, pledging our hon-"ours to assist the Bostonians, in case of a "serious breach, which did take place on tha "19th of the following April, at Lexington. I "was appointed a Captain, by Congress, on "the 22d of June, 1775, to raise a Company of "Riflemen to march in haste to Boston. I re-"cruited 96 men in a few days; set out for "Boston; and reached that place in 21 days, "bad weather included, nor did I leave a man "behind. We remained at that place, inac-"tive, 16 weeks, the enemy being shut up in "Boston; I was then detached, at my own re-"quest, to Quebec, at the head of three Rifle "Companies, viz:—my own, and two, from "Pennsylvania, under Captains Smith and "Hendricks, the latter fell in the attack on "the garrison. I was placed under the com-"mand of General Arnold; and led the van "through the woods. For a description of "this march I refer you to the Journal of Col. "William Heth, who was a Lieutenant in my "Company. We arrived in Canada, I think, "on the 3d of November, in a most distressed "situation, destitute of provisions, and every "kind of comfort. We marched to Point "Levee, refreshed the troops, and on the night "of we crossed the river in some "small craft which we found drawn up in some "*guts*, and some bark canoes, (which we pur-"chased from the Indians,) we passed between "two men of war, in point blank shot; but we "slipped through, undiscovered. I led the "*forlorn hope;* I marched up General Wolfe's "Cove, and formed on the Plains of Abraham, "where I expected to be attacked. We, how-"ever, remained undiscovered. We then "marched to Caldwell's house, in which strong "building, the enemy had posted a consider-"able force. We carried it, sword in hand. "Here I also commanded the *forlorn hope*. We "then besieged the place, for some days, but "finding the ammunition wet, we raised the "siege and marched to Point aux Tremble, 20 "miles from Quebec; here finding the powder "of the rifles dry, I marched back, with my "three Companies, and renewed the siege.

"On my return, I took several prisoners. I "kept up the siege, till the arrival of General "Montgomery, when we meditated an attack "on the town; this was carried into effect, a "few days after. Here I was again appointed "to the command of the *forlorn hope*, on the "river St. Charles, under the orders of General "Arnold.

"This officer being wounded in the leg, un-"der the wall, before we got into the town, I "sent him off, with two of my men, and took "his place, for, although there were three field "officers present, they would not take the "command, alledging that I had seen service, "and they had not. This, I think, reflected "honour on their characters. I had to attack "a two-gun battery, supported by Captain "M'Leod and 50 regular troops. The first "gun that was fired missed us, the second flash-"ed, when I ordered the ladder, which was on "two mens' shoulders, to be placed; (every two "men carried a ladder.) This order was im-"mediately obeyed, and, for fear the business "might not be executed with spirit, I mounted "myself, and was the first man who leaped into "the town,* among M'Leod's guard, who were "panic struck, and, after a faint resistance, ran "into a house that joined the battery and plat-"form.

"I lighted on the end of a heavy piece of "artillery, which hurt me exceedingly and per-"haps saved my life, as I fell from the gun "upon the platform, where the bayonets were "not directed.

"Col. Charles Porterfield, who was then a "Cadet in my Company, was the first man who

*From *The Pittsburgh Gazette* for July 10th, 1818. Edited by Morgan Neville, a grandson of General Daniel Morgan.

We are indebted, for this interesting scrap, to our respected friend, William M. Darlington, Esq., of Pittsburgh.

*General Lee has made a mistake, in stating that Colonels Heth and Porterfield jumped over first.

"followed me; the rest lost not a moment, but "sprang in as fast as they could find room; all "this was performed in a few seconds. I order- "ed the men to fire into the house and follow "up their fire with their pikes (for besides our "rifles, we were furnished with long espontoons) "this was done, and the guard was driven into "the street.

"I went through a sally-port at the end of "the platform; met them in the street; and "ordered them to lay down their arms, if they "expected quarters; they took me at my word "and every man threw down his gun. We "then made a charge upon the battery and took "it, and everything that opposed ns, until we "arrived at the barrier-gate, where I was or- "dered to wait for General Montgomery, and a "fatal order it was, as it prevented me from "taking the garrison, having already made "half the town prisoners. The sally-port "through the barrier was standing open; the "gnard left it; and the people came running, "in seeming platoon, and gave themselves up, "in order to get out of the way of the confu- "sion that was likely to ensue. I went up to the "edge of the upper town, with an interpreter, "to observe what was going on, as the firing "had ceased. I found no person in arms at all. "I returned and called a Council of War of "what officers I had, for the greater part had "missed their way, and had not got into the "town. Here I was overrnled by hard reason- "ing; it was stated that, if I went on, I would "break an order, in the first place; in the next "place, I had more prisoners than I had men; "that if I left them, they might break out, re- "take the battery, and cut off our retreat; that "General Montgomery was certainly coming "down the River St. Lawrence, and would join "ns in a few minutes, so that we were sure of "conquest if we acted with caution. To these "arguments I sacrificed my own opinion and "lost the town.

"General Montgomery had cut down an out "picket, and was marching up to the two gun "battery, when he was killed. Captain "Cheeseman, Major McPherson and some other "officers fell with him. Col. Donald Campbell, "Quarter-master-general, undertook to order a "retreat, which order was obeyed. We were "then left to shift for ourselves; but we did not "yet know the misfortune, for it was still in our "power to have taken the garrison."

* * * * * * *

The remainder of the letter is lost; but the party under Morgan, when they found the American army had retreated, took possession of a waste house, where they made a desperate resistance, but were finally forced to surrender. Sir Guy Carlton offered Captain Morgan a Colonel's Commission in the British Army, which was indignantly refused. He was shortly afterwards exchanged, and placed at the head of the Rifle corps.

III.—THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, IN PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1704.

As Represented by Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., in a Memorial to the Venerable Society.*

Communicated by the Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D.

The State of the Church in Pensylvania most humbly offered to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in fforeign Parts.

As it was my Zeal for God's Glory and the Earnest desire I had of Propagateing the Gospel in fforeign Parts; That were the great motives y^t^ Engaged me in this Mission, so God has been graciously pleaseed to bless my honest Endeavours & Labours this way with A Suitable Success in the Church of Philadelphia in Pensylvania and as if this had been the Philadelphia menconed in the Revelations, God has ont of the Abundance of his Goodness hitherto verified that Promise made to it *Rev.* 3: 8: Behold I have set before thee an Open Door and no man can shut it. For from a very weake and infant state it is now exceedingly ecreased and strength'ned by those numbers y^t^ have been gained Over it; And from hence the marvelous Light of the Gospel has been spread & diffused not only unto the adjacent Churches

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* From the original MS., preserved among the Bishop White papers, belonging to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Rev. Evan Evans, D.D., was, as his name would imply, of Welch descent, and a graduate of Brazen-Nose-college, Oxford. Appointed to Philadelphia, in the year 1700, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London, and succeeding the Rev. Thomas Clayton, his ministry was eminently successful, and his labors extended over a wide circuit of country. In 1716, he resigned his charge, in Philadelphia, and, two years later, the Mission at Oxford and Radnor, to which he had been appointed by the venerable Society. Removing into Maryland, he was presented to St. George's Parish, in Baltimore, now Harford, County, where he ministered until his death, which occurred in the year 1721.

Notices of his life and labors are scattered through the pages of the several volumes of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland MSS., in the Archives of the General Convention, and occur, in print, in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 22-25; *Historical Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, i., 35, 49; Anderson's *Colonial Church*, ii., 436; iii., 256, 257; Hawkin's *Missions of the Church of England*, 107, 108, 277; Dorr's *History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 24, 281, 282, 408, 410, 413, 415, 416; Bolton's *History of Westchester County, N. Y.*, ii., 58; Gadsden's *Life of Bishop Dehon*, 8, 9; Bolton's *Westchester Church*, 35, 148, 167, 171, 172, 174, 177, 188, 218, 227, 228, 416; Beardsley's *Connecticut Church*, 23; *Episcopal Magazine*, i., 17: and elsewhere.—W. S. P.

his health failing, he was furnished an assistant. Henry Graham, who is the present preacher, Mr. Brown is now conducting a successful book-business, in Troy.

I have thus, Mr. Editor, glanced at the Methodist organization, from its infancy. It, from small beginnings, has become a large, influential, and wealthy body, giving, probably, in one year, more, for religious purposes, than any other sect,—probably more than all, combined. It is difficult to recognize the Church, to-day, as the outcrop or growth of what it was, when I first knew it. So rigid in matters of dress; so plain and pointed in preaching; so earnest in enforcing attendance at class-meeting; so sharp in discipline. I have heard Father Chichester talk to the members as no other sect would have submitted to, for a moment. I saw, once, a long row of young converts standing in front of the chancel-rail, awaiting the action of Mr. Spicer, to be received on trial. He scanned each, attentively, and observing that their style of dress was not in conformity with the Discipline, remarked, tersely: "My friends, when folks get "through keeping tavern they usually take "down the sign."

Those Ministers, in the olden time, received only pay enough to keep soul and body together. The Discipline fixed the amount; but, now, they receive salaries equal, if not superior, to those of any other denomination. In those days, you could tell a Methodist as far as you could see, merely by the dress; but, to-day, if you should attempt thus to read, you would be strangely mistaken. They are among the most stylish people we have. May they go on, doing God's work and receiving His blessing.

OLD MAN.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—BOTTLE-HILL, (OR MADISON, N. J.,) DURING THE REVOLUTION.*

BY THE LATE REV. SAMUEL L. TUTTLE, OF MADISON, N. J.

[The author of this sketchy and valuable article on *Bottle Hill, during the Revolutionary War*, the late Rev. Samuel Lawrence Tuttle, of Madison, Morris-county, New Jersey, was the eldest son of the Rev. Jacob Tuttle and Mrs. Elizabeth Ward Tuttle, of Jersey, Ohio. He was born at Bloomfield, New Jersey, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1815; and departed this life on the sixteenth of April, 1866, in the fifty-first year of his age.

He was of a remarkably amiable disposition; very teachable; and, withal, very energetic. He began his classical studies at Bloomfield Academy, at the age of nine years, under the care of the Rev. Albert Pierson. Whilst a member of the Academy, he united with the Presbyterian-church, in Bloomfield, and devoted himself to the Christian Ministry.

In the fall of 1831, he became a member of his uncle's family, the late William Tuttle, of Newark. He pursued his studies, at Newark, for a year or two, under the instruction of Mr. Nathan Hedges, a very competent and thorough teacher; and completed his preparation for the second year in Princeton College, in a private school, in the family of the Pastor of the first Presbyterian-church, in that city. In the Spring of 1834, he entered the Sophomore Class, "half-advanced," at Princeton; and was graduated in 1836. Not ambitious to reach the first honors of his Class, he reached high honors as a class scholar, but, especially, as a writer and speaker. He was twice elected by his Society,—Clio Hall,—to represent it at public exhibitions; and he also received an appointment from the Faculty, as one of the orators, on the Commencement-day, when he was graduated.

After his graduation, he spent a year with his father, on the farm, and added to his physical vigor by labor.

In the Autumn of 1837, he became a member of the Theological Seminary, at Auburn, New York; and completed its full course of three years. His companions and instructors speak of his success, during this season of professional training, in terms of marked commendation. Here, as at Princeton, he was distinguished as a writer and speaker.

On the eighth of October, 1840, he was licensed to preach, by the Presbytery of Newark; and, soon afterwards, he was invited to supply the Church at Caldwell, New Jersey. The result was a call from that Church, to become its Pastor; and, on the ninth of March, 1841, he was ordained to the work of the Gospel Ministry, by the Presbytery of Newark, and installed Pastor of the Church. His preaching commanded great respect, from the first; and was attended with marked success. Then, as ever afterward, he bestowed the most careful preparation on his public efforts. This fact, associated with great manliness in speech and manner and great tenderness in all the relations he sustained to his people, gave him an unwonted hold on their affections.

In June, 1841, he was married to Miss Amelia Camp, daughter of Aaron Camp, of Newark. She died of malignant scarlet-fever, soon after the birth of her second son, on Christmas-day, 1859. her infant surviving her only a few days. The only child of this marriage, now living, is William Parkhurst Tuttle, of Madison, New Jersey, a Cashier in a Banking-house, in New York.

Finding his salary insufficient, he had leave from his Presbytery to resign his pastoral charge, at Caldwell, and was dismissed, on the seventeenth of April, 1849. For several years, he was the General Agent, for Connecticut, of the American Bible Society.

On the third of January, 1854, he was installed the Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, in Madison, New Jersey; and, after a successful ministry, he resigned his charge, on the sixteenth of April, 1862. He at once entered into the service of the American Bible Society, for a time acting as its Agent for Western New York; and, in the Spring of 1863, he was invited to the Home Office, as "Assistant of the Secretaries," in which position he remained until his death.

Believing that his true sphere had been found, he at once entered upon the discharge of its duties with the greatest earnestness. Not content with a perfunctory discharge of his ordinary duties, he devoted an incredible amount of labor on the exploration of the history of the American Bible Society. At his funeral, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, one of the Secretaries of this Society, in his eloquent eulogium on his co-laborer and friend, declared that, in his opinion, there was no person living who was so thoroughly and minutely conversant with that Society's history as Mr. Tuttle. Dr. Taylor also said, with profound feeling, that "he was "a man of great amiability, a loving man, having a large, "warm heart; a man of great decision, willing to do any "duty, never dissatisfied, but ready for the Master's work, "whenever and wherever the Master ordered."

Whilst connected with the Bible Society, he was often

* This article is the first of a series of ten, concerning matters and men in the Past of New Jersey, which we have received from our honored friend, Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash University, Indiana, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, during the current year. Some of these articles are from his own pen; others are from the pens of other writers; all of them are unpublished; and all possess so much interest and importance, as material for history, that our readers, within and without the Jerseys, will read them with both pleasure and profit.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

entrusted with delicate and difficult missions, which his associates say he discharged with rare promptness, fidelity, and wisdom. He also was frequently sent to the great cities, to represent the parent Society at important anniversaries; and in respect to the brevity, clearness, and eloquence with which he presented his great cause, he was much commended. In December, 1863, his addresses, in Chicago, were greatly applauded, both by the daily and religious press of that city. Indeed, his services were in constant demand, for the presentation of the Bible-cause and for the ordinary services of the pulpit, in the leading churches of the city and country; so that his life was one of perpetual labor, during the seven days of each week.

In 1861, he was married to Miss Margaretta Thompson, daughter of Lewis Thompson, Esq., of Madison. She died, suddenly, in April, 1863, leaving an infant son, Joseph Nathaniel Tuttle, who survives his parents.

Three years after the death of his wife, Mr. Tuttle was attacked with violent illness; and, on the sixteenth of April, 1866, he died.

The Congregations of Caldwell and Madison, as also the public, generally manifested the most lively regret at his death; and the Presbytery of Newark, then in Session, in the city of Newark, adjourned to allow its members to be present at the funeral, which occurred on the nineteenth of April.

Mr. Tuttle was manly in person. His countenance was bright and kindled quickly, in conversation and public speaking. At times, his eloquence was quite extraordinary. His voice was one of great richness and power; and, when in his happy moods, he was an effective speaker, who held his hearers with uncommon power.

The paper which is published in the present number of the Magazine, is one that Mr. Tuttle wrote as part of an entertainment, on the fourth of July, 1855, given by the ladies of his Congregation. It was delivered in the grove half a mile South of the Madison Depot, on the East side of the road leading to Green Village. It gives evidence of the haste with which it was prepared; and shows how little thought the author of it had of giving it to the press. The facts here presented possess peculiar value, by reason of the testimony, here recorded, of several very aged people, who then resided in Madison and other parts of Morris-county, but who have since passed from among the living.

On the Thanksgiving Day that preceded the delivery of the address now published for the first time—that is, on the twenty-third of November, 1854,—Mr. Tuttle preached a Discourse entitled *A History of the Presbyterian Church, Madison, New Jersey.* With great care and labor, he had collected what remained of that history, either in written or in printed documents or in the traditions of the people, and brought them all into a pleasant book, which was published, the next year, at the request of his Congregation, in a pretty volume of a hundred and twenty pages. Besides these more elaborate contributions to the local history of Madison and Morris-county, there is a manuscript volume of nearly five hundred pages, in which Mr. Tuttle has recorded anecdotes, documents, traditions, conversations, and facts, derived from a great many sources. Much of this material has been used in the two productions named; but much has not been used. Perhaps, at some future time, this volume may be culled for a further contribution to our local history. The history of Morris-county had no more devoted friend than he proved himself to be; and it is with a peculiar pleasure that this paper, on *Bottle Hill during the Revolution*, is given to the public.—J. F. T.]

It is now about eighty years since the War of the American Revolution began. This place, at that time, was called "BOTTLE HILL," a name which, tradition says, it received from the circumstance that a bottle, suspended from a sign-post, on the corner opposite the Academy, where the Cook homestead now stands, designated the first public-house ever opened in this vicinity. Almost the whole of this region, then, was covered with dense primeval forest, which, so far as we know, had never been disturbed by the hand of man. To a person standing at that time where we now do, and looking off on this far-stretching valley, with the exception, here and there, at wide intervals, of a plain unpainted farm-house, with a small patch of cleared land around it, the prospect was that of a vast and almost unbroken wilderness. The only highway leading through the place, from the interior to the sea-board, was that which is now known as "The old road," which, coming down from Morristown, by the residence of Mr. A. C. Lathrop, passed from thence to the corner, on the road leading to Monroe, now occupied by the dwelling of Mr Vannice; thence, by the present site of our village Academy; thence, across the turnpike and railroad, in front of the residence of Mr. George E. Sayre; thence, by the dwellings now occupied by Dr. H. P. Greene and Mr. Henry Keep; thence, in front of the homestead of Deacon Ichabod Bruen; thence, through the village of Chatham; and, thence, over the Passaic-river and Short-hills, it passed through Springfield, Connecticut farms, and Elizabethtown, to Elizabethtown Point, where it terminated. From this place, communication was had with the City of New York, by means of row boats and small sailing-vessels; and, at the time above specified, it required at least one day to go from this place to Elizabethtown Point, and, very frequently, another to pass over in the boats to the City.

The only sanctuary then standing here, was the old Presbyterian church—a plain, shingled, barn-like structure, without cupola or spire, and, saving the sounding-board over the pulpit, which was deep blue, wholly destitute of paint, both within and without—which stood on the hill, on the South side of our village Cemetery, and about two rods East of the spot now occupied by the Gibbons Monument. The Reverend Azariah Horton, a plain, short, stout, and very benignant man, then in the sixtieth year of his age, was about closing the twenty-fourth year of his ministry, here.

The village tavern stood, at that time, where the house of Mr. Robert Albright now stands; and was kept by Mr. Daniel Brown. Not far from that, and nearly in front of the site of the Presbyterian Lecture-room, stood the village flag-staff—a single, tall, straight pole, unpeeled and unpainted, just as it had been cut in the forest; and, from its top, often floated the national banner of England, we being, at that time, loyal subjects of the British Crown. The village store was then kept in a little house, fifteen feet square, which stood on the corner now occupied by Mr. Isaac Brittin, and was owned and managed by Mrs. Eunice Horton, wife of the first Pastor who was settled in this place. By adroit management, this lady contrived, while there, to add to her husband's income—his

salary never amounting to more than one hundred and seventy-five dollars—so as to provide an ample support for their household and to enable her to purchase a valuable farm. The District School-house stood, then, not far from the residence of Mr. George E. Sayre. Among others who taught school on that spot, was the late Dr. Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia.

The principal thoroughfare from this place, towards the South, was the one which passes by this grove, to Green Village, and led, then, as now, to Baskingridge, Pluckamin, and the Delaware. The principal thoroughfare leading towards the North, was the one which passes on the hill, by the Academy, through Columbia, Whippany, Troy, Montville, and Pompton, to Fort Lee and the Highlands, on the North-river. Persons traveling from this last point, to the Delaware, on this side of the Newark Mountains, as well as those passing from the interior, West of us, towards the sea-beach, would find their most direct route leading through this place. This it would be well to bear in mind, as we progress with this history. Geographically, Bottle-hill was so located, that, during the Revolutionary War, it became, from necessity, a witness of many of the operations and a large sharer in the embarrassments and trials of that eventful struggle. Such was the village of "Bottle-hill," and such its location on the great thoroughfares leading East and West, North and South, in the year 1775—the period designated at the commencement of this address.

For several years previous to that time, there had been serious difficulties arising between the Colonies, here, and the mother country. Two years before that, the citizens of Boston, outraged by the despotic measures adopted by the English authorities, had thrown three entire cargoes of Tea into Massachusetts Bay. On the eighteenth of of April, 1775, the War of the Revolution began in the famous battle of Lexington. On the fifteenth of June, following, General Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Colonial forces. Two days after that, was fought the battle of Bunker's-hill, near Boston. All these things spread, with incredible rapidity, over the entire country. They were now communicated to our Fathers, dwelling here. They were talked about, in the house and in the fields. They were spoken of, and made subjects of prayer, in the old sanctuary that stood yonder, on the hill. The Rev. Azariah Horton was no friend of tyrants; and his words, both in public, and in private, were not wanting to rouse this community to a just vindication of its rights. That old Meeting-house and that old pioneer Minister did not a little, in this way, to prepare those who dwelt here, for the honors, as well as the trials, which Divine Providence had in store for them. Many a stalwart arm was, as a consequence, devoted to the cause of freedom; and many a sacrifice was cheerfully made, that that cause might speedily triumph. On the fourth of July, 1776, a little more than a year after the War had been commenced, the representatives of the several Colonies adopted and sent forth the *Declaration of Independence*. That document was received and read, all over the land, with the utmost enthusiasm; but nowhere with more decided proofs of patriotic devotion than in old "Bottle-hill." But one sentiment was felt by this entire community; and that was, that British despotism must be put down and the Colonial independence must be maintained, cost what it might. Many of the inhabitants of the place, as a consequence, and many of the leading members and officers of the old Church, carrying with them the blessing of their reverend Pastor, left their farms in the care of their wives and children, and hastened to join the Colonial Army which was, at that time, stationed on Long Island. A few days previous to the fourth of July, when the *Declaration of Independence* was published, a Division of the British forces, numbering twenty-four thousand men, under the command of Sir William Howe, landed on Long Island, a little East of the present site of Fort Hamilton. The Colonial Army numbered only seventeen thousand men, three thousand of whom were laid aside by sickness. The armies met; and the Americans were defeated. They then crossed the East-river, to Manhattan Island, where the city of New York now stands; and were followed by the enemy. The battle of White Plains followed; and again the Americans were defeated. Dispirited and downcast, they then passed over the North-river, into New Jersey, and commenced that disastrous retreat, first to Hackensack, then to Newark, then to Elizabethtown, then to New Brunswick, then to Princeton, then to Trenton, then to the West side of the Delaware-river, opposite Trenton—the enemy, in high spirits, following them, upon their heels, and occupying all the places, just mentioned, with strong detachments from the main Army. For this country, that was a most gloomly period; and many were the fears that were excited, that the sun of freedom, which had but just begun to dawn, was thus, suddenly and forever, to be extinguished. But there were others enlisted on our side than those who bore arms. There were thousands of earnest and anxious hearts, all over this land, who bore Washington and his dejected Army, hourly, before Jehovah of Hosts. Many were the prayers which went up from these family altars, all around where we are now assembled; and many and earnest were the supplications which went up from yonder "old Meeting-house," that it would please God to prosper

the efforts of their husbands, and fathers, and brothers, and to discomfit the armies of the aliens; and a more hopeful day was at hand.

The Hessians, under Colonel Rahl, had been stationed at Trenton, to watch the movements of our Army. On the night of Christmas, while these men, with their officers, were engaged in a drunken revel, Washington, by a stroke, which, for daring and skill of accomplishment, has but few, if any, equals in history, in the midst of a most violent snow-storm, through fields of floating ice, and in the darkness of a December night, crossed the Delaware, with his Army, and totally routed and defeated the enemy. A few days afterwards, when the entire British Army had collected together, and were on the point of making an attack upon our forces, by another most skillful movement, Washington withdrew from his dangerous position, during the night, his camp-fires being kept burning and his sentinels ordered to continue their rounds, as usual; and, by day-light, on the third of January, he made a successful attack upon a large body of the enemy which had been posted as a Corps of Reserve, in the vicinity of Princeton. In that battle, a cannon-ball, from our ranks, entered the old College-chapel, and cut off the head of George the Third, from a full length picture of him, which was hanging there—a circumstance which, in those days, was considered ominous of good. These sudden and dexterous movements had the effect to show the enemy that the American Army, though, in a measure, raw and undisciplined, was not yet entirely destitute of life and energy; and, at the same time, they had the effect to inspire both the Army and the Country at large with new courage for the future. For these victories, thanksgivings went up to Almighty God from every family altar and every sanctuary in our land.

The American forces being now in fine spirits, and the Winter having set in, Washington determined to conduct them into Winter-quarters. Abandoning the design which he had formed of attacking New Brunswick, where the enemy had collected his military stores; he conducted his troops from Princeton, over Rocky-hill, through Pluckamin, Baskingridge, New Vernon; thence, by the gristmill belonging to Mr. Bleanplain Baisabin, near Green Village; thence, around the corner occupied by Mr. Moses Lindsley; thence, along the road leading from Green Village to Morristown; and, thence, over to the ground which had been selected for the encampment, in the valley of Lowantica, on the farms now belonging to Messrs. A. M. Treadwell and William M. Kitchel, about one and a half miles West of this village. Three Regiments of troops from New England had been directed to post themselves in the vicinity of Morristown, in case their assistance should be called for, on the Delaware. These, likewise, were ordered to go into Winter-quarters, here; and we have the authority of Mr. Azariah Carter, who has died, within a few months, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years, for saying that, for the most part, they were billetted in private houses, in this township. Every house throughout this entire region was filled, to its utmost capacity, with either officers or soldiers. Persons appointed by the Commander-in-chief passed through the towns and examined the houses; and, without much consultation with the owners, decided how many, and who, should be quartered in each. Often, without even going into the houses, those persons would ride up to the door and write "Colonel Ogden's Head-quarters;" "Major "Eaton's Head-quarters;" "Twelve privates to "be billetted here;" "Six officers to be quartered "here;" etc.; and, generally, without much regard to the convenience or wishes of the occupants, the arrangements of these Commissioners were carried out. In many cases, the best rooms were placed at the disposal of the troops, while the families owning them retired into their kitchens and garrets. Boards were set up, on the floor, across the end of the room opposite to the hearth, just far enough from the wall to admit of a person lying down at full length. This space was then filled with good wholesome straw; and, there, all the soldiers billetted in a house, numbering, sometimes six, sometimes twelve, and sometimes even twenty, crowded in, together, and, covering themselves each with a single blanket, while the fires were kept burning, defended themselves, as best they could, from the severities of those stern Winter nights. In some cases, the soldiers had their meals provided by the families with which they were quartered; while, in others, they drew their rations and prepared them for themselves, as is generally done, in camp. In the case of the officers, except when their families were with them, the former course was generally adopted. General Washington's quarters, at that time, were in the old Freeman Tavern, which stood on the West side of "the Green," in Morristown, and which was kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, of the "Sullivan's Light Horse Guards." In that house and in other houses of that place, General Sullivan, General Lee, General Putnam, Colonel Hamilton, and other leading members of his staff were quartered. Several of the leading officers, as General Maxwell, General Wayne, Colonel Barbour, Colonel Ogden, Colonel Marsh, and Major Eaton, had their head-quarters in the residences of the principal families in this village. In some cases, the families of the officers were with them; and, in this way, a very pleasant society was kept up, here, during the Winter. Armed sentinels guarded these houses, both by day and by night; and it was no unusual thing

for considerable numbers of the various Battalions or Companies, under the command of these officers, to march down to their quarters, for the purpose of doing them honor. But, as has already been stated, the main body of the Army encamped, for the Winter, on the property now belonging to Messrs. Treadwell and Kitchel, in Lowantica valley. The number of the troops, at that time, is no where expressly stated, in the histories given us of that period; but we have reason to conclude, from some statements which are made, that it did not vary much from three thousand. When they came out upon the place of their encampment, on the route which has already been described, with their artillery and long trains of baggage-wagons, exulting in the victories which they had achieved, but a few days before, at Trenton and Princeton, the whole community turned out, very naturally, to witness them and to welcome them into their midst. Although there was, doubtless, some degree of solicitude experienced, from the fact that so large a body of men were to be quartered, for the Winter, among them; we have reason to know that there were few, if any, in old "Bottle Hill," who were not glad to see them, at that time, and to pledge them their friendly offices, during the Winter, even to the last comfort that they possessed.

The ground selected for the encampment belonged then, as now, to two individuals—that part of it which is now owned by Mr. Treadwell belonged, at that time, to John Easton; while that portion of it which is now in possession of Mr. Kitchel was, at that time, the property of Isaac Pierson, father of Darius Pierson, whose widow, at the advanced age of eighty-nine, is still living, (1855) in the village of Rockaway. The former of these places was purchased, soon after the Revolutionary War, by Mr. Vincent Baisabin, by whom it was occupied until it went into the hands of Mr. Treadwell, about three years since; while the latter was occupied by Darius Pierson, a son of the original owner, and his family, until it came into the possession of Mr. Kitchel.

The residence of Mr. Easton was not far from the spot now occupied by the old mansion of Mr. Baisabin, a little Southeast of the dwelling of Mr. Treadwell; and the residence of Mr. Pierson was located on the spot now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. Kitchel; his nearest neighbor being Joshua Munson, father of Mr. Halsey Munson, grandfather of Mrs. Treadwell, whose place of residence was on the ground now occupied by the dwelling of Mr. Daniel M. Force.

The valley to which reference has been made and which was selected as the place of encampment, was called Lowantica, which is an Indian name, from the brook which runs through its midst. By that name, it is believed that both the brook and the valley were designated, during the Revolution; and it was not until about thirty years ago, that the valley was first named Fevertown and, afterwards, Spring-valley, by which it is now commonly distinguished, in this vicinity. Commencing at a point a little South of Morristown; and running in a Southeasterly direction, for the distance of about five miles, it loses itself, in the vicinity of Green Village, in that great stretch of low lands which is commonly known by the name of the Great Swamp. The Lowantica, which runs through the center of this valley, is an unusually clear stream, which is formed from the springs which abound in the valley and which gush forth, in all their natural purity, at almost every step. Flowing down, in the general direction of the valley, it empties, eventually, into the Passaic, and constitutes, thus, one of the principal sources of that river.

At the time of which we are now speaking, nearly the whole of this beautiful valley, not excepting the place of the encampment, was covered with a heavy growth of wood and timber. There were comparatively but few acres cleared and under cultivation; and these were immediately around the houses of Messrs. Easton, Pierson, and Munson, whose names have already been mentioned. With the exception of these little "parcels of ground," the whole of the tract upon which the Army encamped, was an unenclosed and dense wilderness. There being no fences between it and any of the thoroughfares running by it, it could be approached, without obstruction, from any direction.

To this well chosen spot, did the Americans repair, for the purpose of going into Winter-quarters, arriving there on the sixth day of January, 1777. The weather was exceedingly cold. Pitching their tents, at first, wherever they could find places for them, they continued to occupy them, it is believed, for two or three weeks, until they were able to construct more substantial and comfortable accommodations. The centre of the ground marked out for the encampment was not far from the mansion of Mr. Treadwell, about a quarter of a mile South of the main road leading from Morristown, through this village, to the seaboard, and a few rods East of the road, which ran, then, as it does now, in a North and South direction, across the valley. The location was admirably suited to the object for which it was selected. The ground, at that point, descended gradually towards the Southeast, and was shielded, in a great measure, by the crown of the hill, back of it, from the severe winds and storms of the North and Northwest. A little South of it, ran the Lowantica; and, still nearer it, were several large and beautiful springs. The encampment, it is probable, began on the slope West of the spot,

occupied by Mr. Treadwell's residence, not far from the road which now passes, in front of Mr. Kitchel's house, across the valley. One principal street, between four and five rods wide, was laid out in the middle, in the centre of which stood the flagstaff, which, by this time, had come to be called the Liberty-pole, from the top of which our national banner floated. This street was kept in excellent condition and was used as a parade-ground; although there is some reason to believe that the fine level space, on the hill, North of the camp, on which the residence of Mr. Joseph E. Muehmore now stands, was used for this purpose, on special occasions, as, for instance, on occasions of general parade and review. The general direction of the main street was North-east and Southwest. On this street were constructed the cabins of the officers, which were somewhat larger than those put up for the soldiers. On either side of this leading avenue, there were either one or two other streets, running in the same general direction, and about forty feet in width. On these, the cabins of the soldiers were built, in some cases, single, but oftener, in blocks of three, four, and five together, while outside of them, especially on the northern side, others were constructed without any special reference to the streets, but rather in reference to the character of the ground, the side hill being indented with several deep gullies. The cabins, of which all the aged people in this vicinity say there was a large number, and which, it is probable, numbered nearly three hundred, were made of logs (unhewn) notched at the ends, and laid up, one on another, to a height sufficient to allow a person to pass in, erect, under the upper course. The roofs were made of rough clap-boards, split out of the forest. Places were sawed through the logs, for a window and a door in each cabin, into which, on account of their inability to procure either metallic hinges or glass, rude clapboard doors and shutters, with wooden hinges and latches, were placed. In one end of each cabin, a rough stone fire-place was thrown up, surmounted by a plastered stick chimney, which went only a few inches above the peak of the roof; while, in the other end of each structure, a bunk or sleeping-place was erected, with clapboards and small pieces of timber resting on crotches which were driven into the ground. These sleeping-places reached across the entire ends of the cabins, and, being filled in with straw, they were made to accommodate ten or twelve soldiers each. The spaces between the logs being filled in with chuncks of wood and mud, they were sheltered, in a good degree, from the force of the winds and the storms. Rough clapboard benches, with unshaven legs, answered for seats. Huge fires were kept continually blazing, both by day and night; and these constituted the sum total of their furniture and their various conveniences.

Several very large cabins were erected for the accommodation of the Commissary Department and the camp-stores; and these, there are some reasons for believing, were located on the southern borders of the camp, in the vicinity of the springs already referred to. In that part of the camp, also, were these cabins erected and occupied by the suttlers, who drove a brisk trade in various groceries and, especially, in the sale of good whiskey. As it was their principal business to accommodate the drinking propensities of the Army, they very naturally located themselves in the immediate vicinity of the springs, showing themselves, by these means, to be, in some degree, at least, "cold water men."

A little further down towards the Lowantica, rude sheds were constructed for sheltering the horses. These sheds were placed there for the double purpose of being near the brook, for the watering of the horses, and of having this important part of their property as far as possible from the main road, which was, of course, the principal point of danger. Here, too, the baggage-wagons were probably drawn up, in lines; and the artillery, also, was placed there, for the Winter. On the outermost limits of the encampment, several guard houses, also of logs, with fire-places and bunks for sleeping, were erected for the accommodation of the sentinels, whose duty it was, in regular beats, to pass back and forth, along the four sides of the camp, and to guard it, both day and night, against the approaches of the enemy. Within the line of their beats, no one was permitted to pass, especially at night, unless he presented a permit, signed by some officers, to do so, or was able to utter the countersign.

Every morning, at a given hour, the soldiers were aroused by the beat of the drum; the flag was run up on the liberty-pole; and every thing was made to wear the aspect of life. At particular periods of each day, some portions of the Army were called out for exercise and review; and, occasionally, the whole Army, including those who were billetted in private houses, in this vicinity, was brought together, for a grand General Parade. On such occasions, all the officers of the Army, likewise, were present; and it was no uncommon thing for General Greene, General Lee, Colonel Alexander Humilton, General Knox, General Sullivan, General Anthony Wayne, General Lord Sterling, and the Commander-in-chief, General Washington himself, to be on the parade-ground and to take part in the review; and, then, the inhabitants of this entire region, for many miles in every direction, were naturally attracted thither. I have had the pleasure of conversing with aged persons, here, who have been eye witnesses of scenes like this.

While the Army was encamped here, there is reason to believe that several clergymen officiated as Chaplains. One of those who are known to have labored in that relation, was the Reverend James Caldwell, Pastor of the First Presbyterian-church in Elizabethtown. On the Sabbath, when the weather would admit of it, he preached to the soldiers on the parade-ground, from a temporary platform or stage; at other times, discharging his high office in the cabins of both officers and privates, in conversing with individuals, in ministering consolation and instruction to the sick and dying, and in performiug the last rites of religion and of humanity at the graves of those who had died. This excellent man was a pattern of ministerial watchfulness and fidelity. The revelations of the last great day may show that his efforts to lead precious souls under his care to Christ and to Heaven were not expended in vain. Very many of those who encamped on that ground, during that Winter, it is not only hoped, but believed, will be found, through his instrumentality, welcome participants of the joys of everlasting life.

During the Winter of which we are speaking, and while the Army was encamped in Lowantica valley, that terrible scourge, the small-pox, broke out, with dreadful malignity, among them; and many of them, as a consequence, were hurried to the grave. Nor did the awful malady confine itself to the Army, but it extended itself, with great rapidity, throughout this entire region. No classes nor conditions of the community were exempt from its ravages. Not only did it spread throughout the camp, but many of the soldiers and officers who were billetted in private houses, fell a sacrifice to it; and very many of the most estimable inhabitants of this place and this County were, in consequence, prematurely hastened to the grave. The Reverend Azariah Horton, who, after a pastorate of twenty-five years, had withdrawn from this position, and was living in the family of his son, Foster Horton, in Chatham-village, was one of those who became victims to this alarming epidemic.

In writing on this subject to Congress, from Morristown, under date of the fifth of February, 1777, Washington says—"The small-pox has "made such head in every quarter that I find it "impossible to keep it from spreading through "the whole Army, in the natural way. I have, "therefore, determined not only to inoculate "all the troops, now here, that have not had it, "but I shall order Doctor Shippen to inoculate "the recruits, also, as fast as they come to Phil-"adelphia;" and Doctor Ashbel Green, who was then a youth of sixteen or seventeen years of age, in his Autobiography, says, in reference to this same subject, "The troops were distributed in "the dwellings of the inhabitants; and the Sur-"geons of the Army inoculated both soldiers and "citizens, free of charge. The disease by inocula-"tion was so light that there was not, probably, a "day in which the Army could not have been "marched against the enemy, if it had been ne-"cessary." The old Presbyterian-church at Hanover, probably, also, at Morristown, was occupied as a hospital, for those who were suffering from that disease, and several private hospitals, in this vicinity, were used for the purpose of inoculation, as a means of arresting its progress. One of these, was the dwelling subsequently occupied by Jonathan Thompson, near the mill belonging to Mr. Daniel C. Miller. At that place, an excellent Surgeon was stationed; and, thither, all classes in and about this village went, to pass through the process of inoculation. The Presbyterian-church in this place was never used as a hospital, for the reason, probably, that it was situated too near to the great thoroughfare leading from the seaboard to the interior, to render it safe for the Army and others who were continually obliged to be passing and re-passing that point.

Another place which was set apart for the purpose of inoculation was the house which stood, at that time, on the farm of the late John Ogden, over the hill, a little South-west of the residence of the late Mr. Bonsal. That house was then owned and occupied by Mr. Elijah Pierson; and, for several months, it was continually filled with both soldiers and citizens, who had repaired thither in order to guard themselves, by inoculation against the small-pox.

I have been informed by some of the Brookfield family, residing but a little distance from the Lowantica camp-ground, that they received it from their revolutionary ancestors, who lived and died on the ground, that, during the same Winter, there was a small encampment on the hill, back of the Bonsall mansion; and it has seemed to me not unlikely that that was an arrangement also made for the purpose of inoculating the Army. We have some evidence that there was a small encampment of this character, and for this object, on Hanover-neck; and it is very probable that the one referred to, on Bonsall-hill, was established with this end in view.

Another private house that was occupied as a hospital, was an old one which stood on the spot now occupied by the residence of Mr. Bailey, a Swiss gentleman, on the road leading by the camp-ground, across the Lowantica valley, and but a little distance from the road leading from Green Village to Morristown. That house then belonged to James Brookfield, father of the late Silas Brookfield, and grandfather of Mr. Lewis P. Brookfield, who is still living in that neighborhood. Physicians and nurses were stationed there, also; and every thing was done that could

be done, to save the lives of the poor fellows who were, from time to time, carried thither, on litters, from the camp. All the rooms in the house were continually filled with patients; and a very large proportion of them died and were buried in the orchard, about five hundred yards Northwest of the house. Nothing now exists there, to mark the place of their burial; but, from all that can be learned, there must have been a very considerable number of soldiers interred there, during that fearful Winter. The wife of the owner of that property, Mrs. James Brookfield, is deserving of a monument for the self-sacrificing efforts which she put forth, at that time, to relieve the sufferings and comfort the last hours of our patriotic soldiers, who were placed under her husband's roof.

But the principal hospital in the vicinity of the camp, was a large house which belonged, at that time, to a German gentleman of the name of Harperee, on the farm which now belongs to J. J. Scofield, Esq., on the old road from this place to Morristown. That house stood about a quarter of a mile South of the above thoroughfare, and on ground which sloped towards the South, so that it could not be seen from the road. It was a one and a half story house, having four rooms on the lower floor and a greater number on the upper, about one and a half miles North-west of the center of the camp; and, in many respects, admirably adapted to the object for which it was used. Here, also, large numbers of soldiers, at different times, saw the last of earth. The place where they were buried, it is said, is still to be seen in the Southwest corner of the Harperee farm. A triangular piece of ground, containing, at least, three-quarters of an acre, surrounded by an old-fashioned worm-fence, and filled with mounds, as closely as they could be placed, in regular rows, was the place where these unfortunate men, unblessed with the sympathy of wives, or sisters, or mothers, were committed to the dust.

Mr. Lewis P. Brookfield assures me that he has been in the Hasperee house, above described; and that he has also seen the burial-place, just referred to. During the time of the Revolution, a dense forest intervened between this farm and the camp; and the road which connected these two points, passed by the Munson house, now owned by Mr. David M. Force, directly across, through the open woods. Very often were soldiers borne, on litters, along this retired and gloomy way, to the Harperee hospital, who returned to the camp no more, and who, with such solace only as strangers can render, became victims to this fell destroyer. Very sacred, as a consequence, are the associations which gather around that spot. Very precious ought it to be, in the estimation of all true American patriots!

Among the soldiers, also, who were billetted in private houses, there was a very considerable number who died of the disease of which we have been speaking. Some of these were buried on the grounds connected with these houses; and there are many reasons for believing that many others were interred in our own village Cemetry. Tradition says, that an important British officer, who was held here as a prisoner of war, during that Winter, when seized with this disease, was removed to what is known in this community as the Desthie farm, belonging, at the present time, to the heirs of the late William Gibbons; and, that, after his death, he was there committed to the earth.

[To be Continued.]

IV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Editor Historical Magazine.]

The First Cotton Factory in New York State.—In Tuesday's *Journal*, 16th inst., you say, "the first cotton factory in this State was "built in Union-village, in 1804, by William "Mowry." This is a mistake, as there was one built on the island of New York, in the year 1796 or 1797, by a New York Company.

It was built somewhere on the upper end of the island, on a stream too small to run it profitably; and then they tried to run it by the tides, and, after expending a large amount, the Company failed and the factory went down.

My father, John Shedden, claimed to have helped to put up the machinery, and to have spun the first cotton in the State. He came from Scotland to this country, in 1796; and I think he said the factory was started the same year. James S. Shedden.

Moers, 20th Feb., 1869.

—*Albany Evening Journal.*

Epitaph of Richard Thomas.—The following epitaph can be read in a graveyard at Winslow, Maine:

Here lies the body of Richard Thomas,
An inglishman by birth.
A whig of '75,
By occupation a cooper
Now food for worms.
Like an old rum puncheon
marked numbered and shooked.
He will be raised again
and finished by his creator.
he died Sept. 28, 18'4: aged 75,
America my adopted country,
My best advice to you is this
Take care of your libertiee.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. IX. Second Series.] MAY, 1871. [No. 5.

I.—BOTTLE-HILL (OR MADISON, N. J.,) DURING THE REVOLUTION.—Concluded, from Page 212.

By the late Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, of Madison, New Jersey.

While the Army was encamped here, a Company of armed sentinels was stationed on the crown of Short-hills, at a point about four rods South of the main road, and nearly in front of the residence of the late Bishop Hobart. This point commanded a view of the entire country East of the mountain, including New York Bay, Staten-island, Newark Bay, Newark, Elizabethtown, Springfield, and, in fact, the entire seaboard in the vicinity of New York, so that the slightest movement of the enemy, in all that wide region, could, without difficulty, be detected. It also commanded a view of the entire region, West of the mountain, to the crown of the hills which lie back of Morristown, and extending to Basking-ridge, Pluckamin, and the hills in the vicinity of Middle-brook, on the South, and over to Whippany, Montville, Pompton, Ringwood, and, across the State-line, among the mountains of Orange county, New York, on the North. On that commanding elevation, which could, itself, be seen on both sides of the Short-hills, over all this wide extent of territory, the means were kept for alarming the inhabitants of the interior, in case of any threatening movements of the enemy, in any direction. A cannon—an eighteen-pounder, called in those times, "The Old Sow"—fired every half-hour, answered this object during the day-time and in very stormy and dark nights; while an immense fire, or beacon-light, answered the end, at all other times. A log-house or two, it is believed, with fire-places and accommodations for sleeping, were erected there, for the use of the sentinels, who, by relieving one another, at definite intervals, kept careful watch, both by day and night—their eyes continually sweeping over all the vast extent of country that lay stretched out, like a map, before them. The beacon-light was constructed of dry rails, laid up, in a crib-fashion, around a high-pole. This was filled with various combustible materials; while a tar-barrel was placed upon the top of the pole. When the sentinels discovered any movement of the enemy, of a threatening character, either the alarm-gun was fired or this mass of combustibles was set in a blaze, so that tidings were spread, almost instantaneously, over the whole region. There are several persons still living, in this place, who remember to have heard that dismal alarm-gun booming, and to have seen those beacons sending out their baleful and terrific light, from that high point of observation; and who remember, also, to have seen the inhabitants, armed with their muskets, making all possible haste to Chatham-bridge and the Short-hills, the places of rendezvous, in such cases, to prevent the enemy from crossing over into this valley. Every ear was open, at all hours of day and night, to catch the first note of warning from that old field-piece, whose sound was known by all; and there were but few moments, during the watches of the night, in which there were not anxious eyes peering through the darkness, towards the East, to see whether or not that beacon-fire was burning.

During the whole of the Winter in which the Army was encamped in this vicinity, the community here was kept in a state of continual excitement and solicitude. The alarm-gun was firing; or the beacon-light was burning; or the sounds of the fife and drum were heard; or Companies of soldiers were passing and repassing; or the Minute-men of this County and vicinity were hurrying, back and forth; or the Commander-in-chief and his suite and Life-guards were going from, or returning to, their Head-quarters; or some General Parade was taking place, on the camp-ground; or some Tory spies were seen prowling about the vicinity; or some company of the enemy's troops, under the conduct of Tory guides, was committing depredations, in various parts of the country; or some other thing of a similar character was continually occurring to keep those who resided here in a state of excitement and fear. On the Sabbath, the officers who were quartered in the village and some of the soldiers who were billetted in this immediate neighborhood were often seen in

the old sanctuary that then stood upon the hill; and it was no unusual thing to see General Washington and his accomplished lady, mounted on bay horses and accompanied by their faithful mulatto, "Bill," and fifty or sixty mounted Life-guards, passing through our village, on their way either to or from their quarters, in Morristown; and, at such times, "the star-"spangled banner" was sure to float from our village liberty-pole, while our ancestors congregated along the highway where he was to pass and around our village inn (where he generally called) to do honor to the man to whose fidelity and martial skill all eyes were turned for the salvation of our country.

While the Army was encamped in Lowantica, a considerable number of the enemy, both officers and soldiers, were held, in this vicinity, as prisoners of war. Some of these were Hessians, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Trenton, and others were Englishmen who had been taken at the battle of Princeton. Some of them were kept under armed guards, at private houses, near the camp: others were kept in cabins, erected for the purpose, in the camp itself. One of them, a hard-faced British officer, as I have been told by Mr. Halsey Munson, was quartered in the house of his father, where Mr. David M. Force now resides. This officer had a mortal antipathy against our Army and our countrymen, in general; and was the occasion, at times, of a great deal of trouble. He was a man of the the most violent passions; and, in instances not a few, he is said to have roared and raged like a wild bull in a net. He never ate a meal, while there, without first wiping his plate with the skirt of his coat, saying that he was continually afraid that these rebel Americans would poison him. On one occasion, having been allowed to go to Morristown, in company with an armed attendant, he became grossly intoxicated and sought to make his escape; but he was taken again and severely flogged. This, of course, called forth his fiercest displeasure; and, after dealing out curses upon the Americans, of the bitterest character, he declared "as to the flogging part of "it, he did not mind that; but to be put "through the operation by these *rebels*" (and these he preceded by a hard qualifying word) "*that* was more than flesh and blood could "bear!"

During the same Winter, while our Army was quartered here, several of the soldiers deserted the camp and fled to their homes; and, in order to deter others from doing so, some of these were taken, and returned to Spring-valley, and punished with great severity. We have the authority of Mr. Silas Brookfield—who formerly resided on the opposite side of the valley from the camp; who died a few years since, at an advanced age; and who was himself a witness of the scene—for saying, that one of these deserters was hung, on the top of the hill, nearly opposite the spot now occupied by the residence of Joseph E. Muehmore; and that he was buried there, also, at the foot of the gallows. Mr. Brookfield, not long before his death, designated the place where this occurred; and it is not a little remarkable that, while the workmen were engaged, a few weeks since, in excavating a cellar, on that very site, for a new house which Doctor William Kitchell is now erecting, they struck upon what was evidently the grave of some human being who had been interred there, many years ago. The name of this deserter was Springer, as it is stated by Mrs. Silas Lindsley; and this is generally believed to be the place of his burial.

During the same Winter, as we learn from the Brookfield family and others, there was one instance of "running the gauntlet," on the Lowantica encampment; and that, also, was the case of a deserter. The place where it was done, was not far from the spot where the other one was hung; that is, on the level ground, on the hills, between the camp and the old road to Morristown, on which the residence of Joseph E. Muehmore now stands. The whole Battalion to which the deserter belonged, consisting of from five hundred to eight hundred men, was formed into two lines, about four feet distant from each other. Every man was provided with a stout whip, cut from the woods; the officers were placed behind the lines, on either side, to see that the soldiers faithfully performed their duty; and, when thus arranged, the poor criminal, stripped of every thing, save his pantaloons, was obliged to run through the open ranks, while the soldiers, on either side, applied their whips to his bare back as he made his way between them. This man was sentenced to go through the lines, in this way, three times. The first time, he flew through with such rapidity as to miss almost every blow that was aimed at him. The next time, having lost, in a measure, his freshness, he ran less rapidly, and received more of the lashes of his comrades; while, in passing through the last line, he became very much exhausted; fell down, frequently; and received a blow from nearly every soldier in the lines; while the blood ran down in streams from his lacerated back. Supposing the men to have been ranged in the ranks at the distance of about four feet from each other, so as to allow them the free use of those whips, the gauntlet must, have been, in this case, from a thousand to fifteen hundred feet in length—a serious race for a man to run for his life, not once, merely, but thrice! The unhappy deserter, in this case, survived this painful ordeal, and became one of

the most orderly and efficient soldiers in the Army.

Mr. Ichabod Bruen, who is living in this place, at the age of eighty years, remembers that, when he was in his sixth year, a soldier who was quartered at his father's house took him up, one day, to the Lowantica encampment, before breakfast. It was on the occasion of a General Parade, when all the soldiers who were billetted in private houses, as well as those in the camp, were required to be present and to be drilled and reviewed by their officers. While he was there, the soldiers were taking their breakfast. In the hut where he happened to be, the wife of one of the soldiers attended to the cooking; and the meal consisted of beef-steak and coffee, the latter of which was taken from small wooden bowls. In most cases, what was called a "mess" lodged in a single cabin; and each man having drawn his rations from the Commissary's office, they usually took turns in preparing their food for the table.

A number of men, Mr. Bruen stated, were employed to do the butchering for the Army; and, at the time above referred to, he saw them slaughter and dress an ox.

Among those who acted as Suttlers in the camp, were Jonathan Bruen, Thomas Coyle, Daniel Thompson, and Jonathan Nicholas, all of them residents of Bottle-hill.

Very many of the soldiers were very profane and very corrupt; and as there was comparatively little to occupy their time, during their encampment, here, they did much to destroy and corrupt one another. From the *Life of Doctor Ashbel Green*, we have lamentable proof of the almost universal prevalence of gambling, not only in the camp but also in private houses, where the soldiers were billetted; and, in this way, the presence of the Army was attended with the most disastrous influence upon the morals of all classes of the people. After this manner did that memorable Winter pass away. Many were the hardships which were endured, both by the inhabitants of this region and by the Army; and many, too, were the incidents of interest which occurred in this vicinity, at that time. Many a poor soldier closed his life here, without the ministrations of mother, or wife, or sister, under the power of that dire disease of which we have spoken; and the remains of many such, doubtless, were deposited in many places, not only in Lowantica-valley but also in other parts of this County, to await the morning of the resurrection.

At length, after having been encamped in Lowantica-valley and billetted, as above described, in private houses, here, for about five months, the encampment was broken up and the Army returned in the same way that it came—to wit, by the way of New Vernon, Basking-ridge, and Pluckamin—to Middle-brook, near Somerville, where they were met by other detachments; and, from thence, they went forth to encounter the anxieties and evils of another Campaign. The effect of this long encampment here was, in many respects, very disastrous to those who resided in this vicinity. Many valuable lives were lost, in consequence, and the entire community was greatly impoverished; and yet, as their historian, I am happy and proud to be able to say, that they never, for one moment, wavered in reference to the sacred cause in which they had embarked; and they never refused, under any circumstances, to do all that was in their power to bring that cause to a successful issue.

During the Fall succeeding the breaking up of the encampment in Lowantica-valley—to wit, on the seventeenth of October, 1777—the whole country was filled with rejoicing with the intelligence of the capture and surrender of Burgoyne, at the North. When the tidings first reached Bottle-hill, it is impossible to describe the joy awakened among all classes of the community. This event was spoken of, with devout gratitude, in the old Meeting-house, on the hill; and there is one, at least, still living among us—Mrs. Sarah Richards—at that time, a little girl of about eight years of age, who remembers seeing the houses illuminated, on the occasion, while the flag floated from the village liberty-pole, guns were fired, tar-barrels burned in the open plat, by the inn—near the site of the Presbyterian Lecture-room—and young men, in considerable numbers, mounted on horseback, rode, back and forth, from the village, in every direction, exclaiming as they went: "Glorious news! Gates "is victorious! Burgoyne has surrendered! "Burgoyne has surrendered! Huzza for Wash-"ington! Huzza for Independence!" while the occupants of the houses which they passed, of all ages and conditions, flew to the road side, as they dashed by, and gave them their hearty cheers and congratulations.

And from all that I can learn, I may here state that it was no uncommon thing for the inhabitants of Bottle-hill to hail events of this character, in the manner which has just been described. Residing, as they did, in a part of the country where they were obliged to experience much more than the usual share of the inconveniences and burdens incident to the War, they would naturally feel a much more than ordinary degree of joy at each new success which attended our Army. It is a fact that does honor to our ancestors, dwelling in Bottle-hill and its vicinity, that, while they were doing so much to promote the welfare of the country, by opening their doors and their granaries to the American forces, all of them who were able to

bear arms were engaged, in one way or another, in actively opposing the movements of the enemy. A large number of our most valuable citizens enlisted in the Army, at the very commencement of the War, and continued with it, through all its various stages, to its close. Others suffered themselves to be registered as "Minute-men," whose business it was, at a moment's warning, to fly to arms upon the announcement of danger. Among those who were either regularly enlisted or who rendered service as "Minute-men," from this place, were the following, whose names I am happy to be able to record in this history: Lieutenant Silas Hand, John Miller, Samuel Denman, John Cook, George Minthorn, Jabez Tichenor, Lieutenant Noadiak Wade, Surgeon Peter Smith, Captain Benjamin Carter, Lieutenant John Roberts, Luke Miller, Josiah Burnet, Jeremiah Carter, Cornelius Genung, Captain Thompson of the New Jersey Artillery (who had both legs shot off, at the battle of Springfield; and who died, urging his Company never to give up to the enemy), Captain Eliakim Little—also of the New Jersey Artillery (whose Company, by desperate fighting, held the enemy at bay for two hours, until they were relieved and the enemy routed) Samuel, Paul, and John Bonnel, Robert Pollard, (who was shot through the body at the battle of Connecticut Farms, and yet survived many years, after the War was concluded) Epraim Sayre, (who acted, for a considerable time, in the Commissary Department of the Army,) James Brookfield, Samuel Day, Ellis Cook, Caleb Horton, (son of the first Pastor of this village,) Joseph Bruen, Benjamin Harris, Captain William Day, Benjamin Bonnel, (who assisted in carting the guns which were captured. by our troops, in a British sloop which was grounded in the Elizabethtown-creek, to the armory, at Morristown,) Lieutenant Stephen Day, Captain John Howell, Colonel Seely, and others. Of the famous Company of Life-guards which accompanied Washington through all his movements, during the War, four, at least, have been known to be residents of Bottle-hill, their names being Samuel Pierson, Benjamin Bonnel, Nathaniel Crane, and Daniel Vreeland, all of whom lived several years after the War, in this vicinity.

One of these men, Samuel Pierson, is said to have been a very athletic and courageous man and an expert horseman. On one occasion, while the Americans and British were about joining in battle—it is believed that it was the battle of Chadd's Ford—Washington entrusted him with some very important dispatches, directing him, at the same time, to ride to the bank of a certain river, which was named, and wait there until a person who was described, should [illegible] over from the opposite side, in a boat, to meet him. He accordingly put spurs to his horse and reached the appointed place; but, seeing no one, on the opposite bank, or in a boat, in the act of crossing, he plunged into the river with his horse and swam over, but just as he was approaching the shore, the person whom he was expecting emerged from the bushes and entered a boat for the purpose of going over to meet him. Guiding his horse up to the boat, he threw the dispatches into the hands of this person and swam his horse back, from whence he came; and flew thence back to Head-quarters. It happened that the missives fell into the right hands. But the next day, five soldiers proceeded to Pierson's tent and marched him down to Washington's marquee, very much to his astonishment. When he was brought before the Commander-in-chief, said he to him: "Pierson! "you have disobeyed orders." "In what "respect," inquired Pierson, and added, "I "have risked my life to carry out your direc- "tions." "I told you," said Washington, "to "wait on the bank of the river, until the dis- "patches should be called for, by a certain per- "son, whom I described; and you plunged "into the river, bearing the dispatches over "yourself, and, by this means, you exposed our "Army to imminent jeopardy." Dropping upon one knee, in an instant, said the impulsive soldier, "I see it. I beg your Honor's pardon. I will "do the like never again." "Rise, then," said the forbearing and magnanimous Washington. "I forgive you this offence, Pierson; but re- "member that a repetition will cost you more "dearly than this has done. My orders, to the "letter, must be obeyed."

On another occasion, while the famous battle of Monmouth was at its height, he was again entrusted with dispatches by the Commander-in-chief, to one of the other officers who was commanding in a remote part of the scene of the engagement, while his only way of reaching that point lay directly across the fire of the enemy. Nothing daunted, however, he dashed into the very storm of bullets which were falling like hail around him. His horse was soon struck by a cannon-ball and instantly killed. "Dispatches from the Commander-in-chief," he exclaimed, when another horse was instantly at his disposal; and he was again flying on his fearful errand, through showers of lead. This horse was also shot; and, in making his death-plunge, he fell upon his leg and severely injured him; but, upon being extricated, he was placed upon a third horse, and, in this way, was able to reach the place of his destination and hand over the missives of Washington. Upon seeing him, shortly afterwards, the Commander-in-chief said to him, "Pierson! did you deliver those dis- "patches?" "I did, Sir," said the brave man.

"I feared," said Washington, "when you set "out with them I should never see you again. "Were you injured any?" "O, no, General," replied he, "I had two horses killed under me "one of which, in falling, injured me a little; "and on the third I got safely through and now, "thank God, I am here at your service again, "Sir." "Well done, Pierson," said Washington, "your fidelity and courage have merited "and secured your commander's warm admira- "tion!"

While these patriotic and self-sacrificing men were, away from their homes, exposed to all the hardships and perils of the Army, their no less patriotic and self-sacrificing mothers, and wives, and sisters were engaged in cultivating the fields, and in providing, as best they could, for the wants of their respective households.

Mrs. Sarah Richards informs us that, during almost the entire period of the War, an aunt of hers, with the aid of a little son and a female relative, performed nearly all the labor required on the farm, which her husband had left in her care while he was engaged in the Army; that she ploughed and harrowed the fields; that she cut the grain and the grass, and gathered them into the barn; that she thrashed the grain, and carried it to the mill; that she cut wood in the forest, and drew it to her door; and that she did all the other labor required of the other sex, in order to make her children and herself comfortable. The same things are stated, also, respecting Mrs. James Brookfield, of Lowautica-valley, whose name has already been mentioned, in another connection. And these were only two of scores of instances which actually occurred, in this community—in some cases, large families being dependent entirely upon the labors of these noble women.

Sometime during the Spring and Summer of 1777, as we learn from affidavits made by revolutionary soldiers applying for pensions, through the Hon. Silas Condit of Morristown, a party of eighty Hessians, attended by ten or twelve Tory guides—all of them on horseback, and on their way over Short-hills—were captured by two or three Companies of our Militia, and taken prisoners at Connecticut Farms. Some of them were killed, and some fearfully wounded; and the whole company was marched, under strong guards, through this place, to Morristown, where they were confined. Their march through our village created great excitement, and called forth long and loud cheering.

During the Winter succeeding the encampment in this place, the Army went into Winter-quarters at Middle-brook, on the Raritan, near the present site of Somerville and about ten miles North-west of New Brunswick. A considerable number of both officers and privates, however, were billetted, at the same time, in Bottle-hill and its vicinity; and these, we have the authority of the late Azariah Carter for saying, were, for the most part, from New England. It is probable that a few of the cabins which were yet standing in Lowantica-valley were occupied in this way; but the majority of those who were quartered in this neighborhood was lodged in private houses—the best rooms being given up, as before, for their accommodation. Several of the leading officers of the Army made their Head-quarters here; and, in various ways, our citizens were almost as much burdened with the support of the forces as they were during the preceding Winter. Many of them, also, were engaged, during the season, in carting provisions, etc., to the encampment on the Raritan.

It was during that Winter, it is believed, when the inhabitants of this region were thrown into a great excitement by the intelligence that a large body of the enemy, under Lord Cornwallis, had landed at Elizabethtown point and were advancing towards Short-hills, with a view of seizing upon and pillaging the County of Morris. The intelligence proved to be correct. A large body of Militia, under General Lord Stirling of Basking-ridge, rushed down to meet them; and, after a slight skirmish, the British forces thought it best to withdraw.* This, of course, was a great relief to this section of the country, as very many of those living on the principal thoroughfares, here, fearing the worst, had placed their most valuable goods upon their wagons and harnessed their horses, ready to bear them off, with their households, at a moment's warning, further into the interior.

Rev. Aaron Richards, from Rahway, preached here, for a year and a half, about this time.

On the twenty-eighth of the following June, 1778, was fought the famous battle of Monmouth. A considerable number of the leading inhabitants of Bottle-hill was present and took part in that sanguinary engagement, among whom was Deacon Ephraim Sayre, who was acting, at the time, as an officer in the Commissary Department. The intelligence of that battle was received here with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. A Classical School was kept, at that time, by Rev. Ebenezer Bradford, on the spot now occupied by our village dépôt. When these tidings reached here, the young men in that institution, together with others in the vicinity, by the burning of tar-barrels and gunpowder, by illuminations, and in various other ways, did all in their power to do honor to the event.

Very soon after the enemy first entered Elizabethtown, in the Fall of 1776, Mr. Shepherd

* *Life of Lord Stirling*, 6.

Kollock, Editor and Proprietor of the *New Jersey Journal*, which was published at that place, regarding it unsafe to continue his labors there, removed his printing implements to this vicinity. At first, he appears to have occupied a room or two in the West end of the old tavern-house, now occupied by Mr. Samuel Condit, a little East of the Passaic-river, opposite the village of Chatham. In the garden, West of that house, Mr. Condit tells me that he has, very frequently, picked up types during the last forty years, since he has been there, which had doubtless been swept out of the office, by the apprentices, during that period. From all that I can ascertain, this paper must have been issued there for nearly three years. At length, when the Rev. Mr. Bradford retired from this place, Mr. Kollock purchased the building which he had occupied, previously, for a school; removed it to Chatham-village; converted it into a printing-office; and, there, he continued to issue that patriotic paper until the close of the War—a period of between four and five years. Not a few influences, we doubt not, were set on foot in that building, in connection with that staunch old Whig paper, which contributed largely to bring the Revolution to a successful issue; and the fact that it was prepared and sent forth from this place into all parts of the country, did a great deal to make the names of Chatham and Bottle-hill familiar as household words, among all classes of American people. The edifice to which reference has been made is still standing, directly opposite the store of Mr. Minton, and is now occupied as a dwelling-house. I have been told by Mr. Enos Bonnel, an aged man now living near Chatham, that the first Methodist Episcopal service that was ever held in this township, was held in that building, just after it had been vacated by Mr. Kollock, as a printing-office, and a little after the proclamation of Peace with Great Britain. The clergymen who officiated were the Rev. Messrs. Haggerty and Lynch.

On the evening of the thirteenth of December, 1779, the report came to Bottle-hill that the American forces had been routed by the enemy, and were retreating over Short-hills, while the enemy were in full pursuit. This, of course, filled the whole community with consternation; and preparations began, at once, to be made, to carry their most valuable goods and their families back farther into the country. It proved, however, a false rumor. A large detachment of our Army came up, through Chatham, to our village; but they were simply passing through, on their way to Kimball's-hill, five miles South-west of this place, for the purpose of going into Winter-quarters. Mrs. Sarah Richards, who has put me in possession of this fact, says that they entered the village just as it began to grow dark; and that they pitched their tents here, and spent the night. She stated, also, that the tents, which were spread on each side of the road, as near together as they could stand, reached from the old Meeting-house, on the hill, to the place now occupied by Mr. Seaman; and that, as the sun rose, on the next morning, she remembers seeing the smoke curling up from the camp-fires which had been kept along the lines, during the night, and which they were then using for the purpose of cooking their morning meal. A large number of the officers took breakfast at her father's house—the table being spread at least six or seven different times. This accomplished, at a very early hour, they struck their tents and proceeded to Morristown and thence to the place selected for their Winter-quarters, where they were to be joined by the main body of the Army, from the North, which was coming down, at the same time, through Pompton, Parsippany, and Whippany, for the same purpose. Mrs. Silas Lindsley, who is still living in this vicinity, was, at that time, about six years old, living with her father, in the house next East of the Ford mansion, where Washington established his Head-quarters, in Morristown, and remembers to have seen our troops coming up from Bottle-hill and from Whippany, on their way to Kimball's-hill, as above stated. Both bodies passed during the same week, but on different days—the Northern forces, which came through Pompton and Whippany occupied an entire day in passing her father's house.

From her account, the scene must have been a very exciting one. Companies of armed pioneers, with their axes and other implements for preparing the way for the Army, squads of officers, on horseback, Companies and Battalions of soldiers, on foot, pieces of artillery, drawn by horses; and long trains of baggage-wagons, drawn by horses and oxen, were passing, promiscuously, through the day; while the drums were beating, the flags flying, and the earth, at times, shaking under the heavy roll of the artillery, and baggage-wagons, and the tramp of horses. Passing over the old Morristown Green, they took the Basking-ridge-road, under the mountain; and then, at length, reached their Winter-quarters, in what Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, calls "a wilderness about three "miles from Morristown."

While the main body of the Army was quartered there, several of the officers took up their quarters, for the Winter, in this place. Many soldiers, likewise, were billetted at private houses, as at former times. General Washington, whose Head-quarters, as has already been intimated, were in the Ford mansion, at Morristown; and other leading officers of the Army are known to have been frequent visitors in Bottle-hill,

during that Winter. It was his practice, also, quite often, to pass through this place, attended by his mounted Life-guards, on his way to the Short-hills, where, with his spy-glass, he was accustomed to spend hours in making observations. Mr. Azariah Carter told me, a few days before his death, that he remembered seeing Washington and his suite passing through the village, on one of these excursions; and Doctor Ashbel Green, in his *Autobiography*, mentions seeing him, also, on one occasion, passing in the same direction, accompanied, among others, by the Marquis de La Fayette.

The alarm-gun and the beacon-lights were kept in a state of readiness for announcing any threatening movement of the enemy, below the mountain; and the bridge over the Passaic, at Chatham-village, was placed under a strong guard, who kept a vigilant eye on all who attempted to cross it, both by day and by night, throughout the Winter. The cannon which was used on Short hills, I have been informed, remained there until after the War of 1812, when it was taken away, probably by order of the Government. The land where it was placed belonged to Benjamin Bonnel, but is now the property of Mr. Samuel Brent.

In reference to the guarding of the bridge, at Chatham, during the whole period of the Revolution, it is evident that the greatest pains were taken. Sometimes considerable companies were stationed there; while, at other times, only a few picked men were required to keep an eye to the character and designs of those who were continually passing and repassing, during those troubious times. In the pension documents of the Hon. Silas Condit, it is stated that Lieutenant Timothy Tuttle, of Whippany, at the head of his Company, kept guard at this point, for a time, under the order of Benoni Hathaway, of Morristown; and Doctor Ashbel Green says that, when he was only fifteen years old, he acted, for a little time, as a sentinel at that point; and that he arrested one man whose appearance excited his suspicions that he was a Tory or a spy, and who was not able to give him the countersign when it was demanded of him. In the pension documents, already referred to, it is stated that while Jacob and John Garrigus were acting as sentinels at the Chatham-bridge, one Breese Williams came up to them, while in a state of intoxication, and sought to pass over. Upon their refusing to allow him to go over the bridge, he insulted and abused them, and, at length, taking hold of the musket of one of them, he sought to wrest it from his hands, probably for the purpose of committing violence upon him, when he was summarily shot down by the other sentinel, who was witness of the whole proceedings.

It was while the Army encamped on Kimball-hill and Washington was quartered in the Ford mansion, in Morristown, that a body of British cavalry (*Historical Collections of New Jersey*) formed the design of forcing their way to the Head-quarters of Washington, and of carrying him off a prisoner. Landing at Elizabeth-town-point, during the night, they succeeded in getting by the sentinels on Short-hills and at the Chatham-bridge, and, in reaching this place; when the snow and hail-storm, which had been raging through the night, increased to such an extent, the snow becoming covered with a heavy crust, which cut their horses feet so badly that they turned about, and made their way, as rapidly as possible, back again to their own quarters. Standing in fear of their guide, who was an American, they enclosed him in a hollow square and thus, with drawn swords, rode, with the utmost dispatch, back to the Point, before their plot was discovered. When it was discovered, it created a great sensation, not only in the Army but throughout this entire region.

On the fourteenth of January, 1780, while the Army was lying at Kimball-hill, the old *New Jersey Gazette* states that Lord Stirling, with a detachment of troops, left the encampment on hastily-constructed sleds, with several field-pieces of light artillery, in order to surprise the British troops which were quartered, at that time, on Staten-island. Coming down, probably, through New Vernon and Green-village, they passed through this place, late in the afternoon; crossed over, from Elizabethtown-point, to the island, during the night; and, before the enemy was aware of his danger, they were upon them. The consequence was that he broke up and fled to the East side of the island, while our troops, having secured several prisoners, some valuable horses, a number of tents, and other valuable effects, re-crossed to the Point, and retraced their steps to their quarters, on the mountain, bearing their trophies with them, to the no small gratification of the Army and the surrounding community.

On the twenty-third of June, 1780, the enemy, under General Knyphausen, made a more bold and deliberate attempt to reach Morristown, where the American Army had its principal depot of ammunition and provisions. On their way through Connecticut Farms, they burned that village to ashes, and ruthlessly murdered the amiable and inoffensive wife of the patriotic Chaplain Caldwell, to whom reference has already been made. In the vicinity of Springfield, however, they were met by General Maxwell, of Sussex-county, and a body of the New Jersey Militia; and, after a short battle, they were repulsed and glad to make good their escape. Many of the inhabitants of Bottle-hill and the country

around it, alarmed by the gun on Short-hills, hastened down to Springfield, that morning, and rendered good service in helping to drive back the invaders from the accomplishment of their design. In reporting this battle to Congress, soon after, Washington said, "The Militia of "New Jersey ran to arms and behaved with an "ardor and spirit of which there are few exam-"ples."

At that time, the Commander-in-chief was at Pompton-plains, where some of the troops had been quartered during the previous Winter. Hearing of this attempt of the enemy to reach Morristown, and believing that another similar attempt would soon be made, he, with that part of the Army posted there, came down and stationed themselves in this vicinity, to await the movements of the enemy. Washington himself often went up and stood by the alarm-gun and the beacon-light on Short-hills, and, with his spy-glass, frequently swept the whole field of vision, looking, with anxiety, especially towards Elizabethtown and New York Bay. General Knyphausen had not yet embarked for New York, but was still lying at Elizabethtown; and this only confirmed the suspicions of Washington, that another attempt was in contemplation upon Morristown. The British fleet hearing the troops which had been engaged in South Carolina, under Sir Henry Clinton, just then sailed into New York Harbor; and, from his high point of observation, Washington saw the fleet come in and whiten the bay; and, for once, his good heart was dismayed. In writing from that place to Congress, he said, "A very alarming crisis may "shortly open; and it will be happy for us, if "we shall be able to steer clear of some serious "misfortunes, in this quarter." A few days after this—seventeen days after the burning of Connecticut Farms—the whole British Army landed at Elizabethtown-point, and, uniting with the forces under General Knyphausen, commenced their march towards Short-hills. The alarm-gun was fired; the whole country, on this side of the mountain, was thoroughly aroused; the regular forces were posted at Springfield; the Militia came rushing down to the same point, from all the surrounding regions; wagons, loaded with the most valuable goods, stood before every door along all these thoroughfares, prepared, in case of the worst, to hurry off into the interior; and the whole region was filled with the most ungovernable excitement. Many who were not called to take arms, and among them old Parson Green, of Hanover, rode down to the summit of the Short-hills, to be witnesses of the engagement.

On that dismal morning, when the alarm-gun was fired, there was a little boy, six years of age, in Mr. Bradford's school, on the site of the present depot. Darling Beach and young Ashbel Green, son of old Parson Green of Hanover, were his teachers. His home was the house that stands on the side-hill, next East of the residence of Widow Chloe Samson. That little boy was our friend and neighbor, Deacon Ichabod Bruen, who is still living, at the advanced age of eighty years. When the alarm-gun was heard, that morning, the school was dismissed; and, when he reached his father's house, he found that his father, Joseph Bruen, who was a Minute-man, had already gone to Springfield; and that his mother was engaged in loading a wagon, which stood by the door, with the best of their goods, preparatory to leaving for the interior, in case it should prove to be necessary. Troops were hurrying, continually, towards the point of danger; express-riders were flying, back and forth, from Morristown to the Short-hills; and the whole aspect of things was dark and gloomy, beyond conception. At length, the armies met; both fought, with great spirit; soon, the British forces gave way; and, after setting fire to the village of Springfield, which contained about fifty houses and a church, they fled, precipitately, towards Elizabethtown, and made good their escape.

It was during this battle, and in the very height of it, it is said, that some of the American forces, getting out of wadding, as Rev. Doctor Nicholas Murray states, Parson Caldwell, who was flying, hither and thither, stimulating the men to do their duty, discovering their deficiency of that article, rushed into the old Presbyterian-church, hard by, and, bringing out armsfull of hymn-books, he scatterd them among the troops and cried out to them, "Put "Watts into them, boys!" with the happiest effect.

Some of the inhabitants of Bottle-hill were killed in that battle; and many of them were seriously wounded. Here it was that Captain Thomas, of this place, had both of his legs shot off, below his knees, while commanding a Corps of Artillery; and, while he was bleeding to death, he stood upon his mangled limbs and, waving his sword over his head, said to his men, "I am dying, but fight on, my boys: "never give up to the enemy," and expired. Here it was, too, that Eliakim Little, also of this town, with his little Company and a few pieces of artillery, held the whole body of the enemy at bay, for two hours, until it finally gave way and retreated; and here, too, many others, of the earnest and hardy yeomanry of Bottle-hill and vicinity, performed deeds of valor which were almost superhuman; and here they received wounds which they bore with them to their graves—which are so many proofs that they were not cowards on that day, when the safety of their families as well as the

honor of their country depended upon their efforts.

The firing of the guns and the heavy booming of the artillery were distinctly heard in this place, while the battle was in progress; and, when Springfield was burned, on that memorable afternoon, the smoke was seen from here, rising in dense masses above the intervening hills. This was a sad omen to inexperienced observers, here; and the worst of consequences was anticipated; but, at length, the suspense of the whole community was at an end, when an express rider came dashing up the road, swift as the wind, crying, at the top of his voice, "The British are flying: the British "are flying;" and when our victorious troops were seen returning from the scene of the strife, it was impossible for them to restrain their joy. Their long and repeated hurras, as they came through the place, the waving of handkerchiefs, from every dwelling along the lines of their march, and the tears of joy that were streaming down the faces of persons, of all ages and all conditions, in the community, showed, very clearly, what a deliverance God had wrought out for them, on that day. Though there were many wounded and some killed in the vicinity, never, on the whole, did the national flag float more exultingly, and never did a heartier tribute of gratitude ascend from the dwellings and the hearts of this region, than those with which that day was marked.

Four of our troops, who had been badly wounded, were brought up and placed in the barn connected with the tavern, now owned by Mr. Samuel Condit, on the East side of the Passaic, opposite to Chatham. These lived but a few days, and were buried, as I learn from Enos Bonnel, on the road leading from the above tavern to New Providence, very near the mill-dam, where their remains doubtless are, at this day. Several British officers and soldiers were taken prisoners in the battle; and there is at least one still living among us, who remembers to have seen these prisoners conducted through this place to the Head-quarters of the Army, at Morristown. Mrs. Richards, to whom I refer, states that she saw a number of these men, in their red coats, walking in and about the tavern, now owned and occupied as a dwelling by our neighbor, Mr. Robert Albright; and her belief is, that they spent the night following the battle of Springfield, in company with their guard, in that house.

A few days after this defeat of Knyphausen and the British, at Connecticut Farms and Springfield, the following pasquinade was stuck up, by some one, in the streets of the City of New York, in which their vain endeavors to conquer the Americans is pretty severely hit off:

"V. 3—Just not long before,
"Old Knip
"And old Clip
"Went to the Jersey shore,
"The rebel rogues to beat;
"But, at Yankee-farms,
"They took the alarms,
"At little harms,
"And quickly did retreat.

"V. 4—Then, after two days wonder,
"Marched boldly on to Springfield town,
"And swore they'd knock the rebels down;
"But, as their foes,
"Gave them some blows,
"They, like the wind,
"Soon changed their mind,
"And, in a crack,
"Return-ed back
"From not one-third their number."

While the Army was quartered, at various times, in this vicinity, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell was in the habit of preaching in this place, whenever his other duties would admit of it, both in the old Presbyterian meeting-house and in other places. This, we are told by Miss Rachel Sayre and Mrs. Richards, he often did, especially in the house of their father, his very dear friend, Deacon Ephraim Sayre; and, at such times, the room in which the services were held was the front room, on the South end of the house, the place where he usually stood being in the South-west corner of the room. Very often, as he was passing through the place, he would spend the night in that house; and, on such occasions, notice of his being there was sent out in the different neighborhoods, and assemblies were convened, to hear the Gospel from his lips. In various ways, he greatly endeared himself to this entire community; and, to this day, his name is one that is spoken, by all classes, in this region, with reverence and love. As an instance of the high estimate in which he was held, it is stated that, as he was passing through the village, one day, it was announced that he was to preach in the open fields, not far from the Passaic-bridge, in Chatham; and, while the multitude was assembling, from every quarter, and an individual was erecting a temporary stage for him to stand upon, an old soldier came elbowing his way into the crowd; and, upon learning that they were putting up a platform for Caldwell to speak upon, he exclaimed, "Let me have the honor of "serving as his platform. Let him preach, "to-day, standing on my body. Nothing is too "good for Parson Caldwell," with other expressions of a similar character, showing the profound reverence that he cherished towards this excellent man.

The following anecdote, says Doctor Murray, "is related of him and his devoted and pious "parishioner, Abraham Clark, whose name is "yet familiar to the people of East Jersey as "'Congress Abraham.' Caldwell officiated, for "a short time, as a Deputy Quarter-master-"general; and, for this purpose, he opened an "office, in Chatham, over the door of which he "had placed the following sign: 'James "'Caldwell, D. Q. M. G.'—Deputy Quarter "Master General. Perceiving Mr. Clark ap-"proaching his door," says Doctor Murray, "he "went to meet him and found him intently gaz-"ing upon the above letters. 'What,' said "Caldwell, 'are you looking at, so earnestly.' "'I am looking,' replied Clark, 'at those letters "'and I am striving to comprehend what they "'mean.' 'Well, what do you think they "'mean,' asked Caldwell. 'I cannot conceive,' "replied his friend, 'unless they mean—*Devil "'ish Queer Minister of the Gospel.*' This "anecdote," adds the Doctor, "shows the great "familiarity which subsisted between the men; "and, after a hearty laugh over the joke, the "pious patriots took counsel together as to "the affairs of the State and the nation.—(*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, iii. 80.)

Before the close of the War, it will be remembered, this worthy Minister was shot down by a sentinel at Elizabethtown-point, while engaged in escorting a female friend from the boat to his carriage—she having come from the city of New York for the purpose of spending a few days in his family. The deed was, at the time, generally believed to have been committed at the instigation of the enemy; but the evidence of this is not altogether satisfactory. Be this as it may, however, this, at least, is a fact, which, as the historian of Bottle-hill, I am proud to be able to record, that, upon the death of the worthy man, his old friend, Deacon Ephraim Sayre, of this place, hastened to Elizabethtown and brought up six of his orphan children to his own house, and took care of them, until they were permanently provided for, elsewhere. All of them remained with their new guardian at least three months; and some of them for a longer period. They became greatly attached to their father's friend, ever afterward, with filial reverence and love, calling him their "foster-father."

Doctor Murray says of Caldwell: "He was "of middling size and strongly framed. His "countenance had a pensive, placid cast; but, "when excited, was exceedingly expressive of "resolution and energy. His voice was sweet "and musical; but yet so strong, that, when "needful, he could make himself heard above "the notes of the drum and the fife. As a "preacher, he was uncommonly eloquent and "pathetic; rarely preaching without weeping, "himself, and, at times, would melt his whole "audience into tears. Doctor Green says that "the impressions made by one sermon of Cald-"well's, preached in Chatham or Bottle-hill, in "1779 or 1780, have never been effaced from "his mind."

Some time after the battle of Springfield, as we learn from *The Life of General William Winds*, by Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, a detachment of British troops once more forced their way over Short-hills, as far as the Passaic-bridge, at Chatham. At that point, they were met by General Winds, with a strong body of Militia prepared to dispute their further progress, in this direction. Supposing that, of course, he and his men would instantly make good their escape, as soon as they chose to press forward, the British officer is said to have sent the taunting message to him that he "proposed to take dinner with him, the next "day, at Morristown," to which General Winds sent the following reply, which, it seems, had the effect to modify this officer's plans: "If "you dine with me, in Morristown, to-morrow "noon, I need not tell you where you will sup "to-morrow night." Not exactly liking this plain, Spartan language, the officer and his men deemed it the dictate of prudence to withdraw, which they accordingly did, General Winds seeing them safely over Short-hills and on their way to the place from whence they came.

During the Winter following the battle of Springfield, to wit, the Winter of 1780–81, while the New England troops were stationed at West-point, on the Hudson, and those from Pennsylvania were quartered on Kimball-hill, where the Army was encamped, during the Winter preceding, the French forces established their quarters on the high ground North of the Presbyterian-church in Whippany; and the New Jersey troops were quartered, partly on Pompton-plains and partly in private houses, in this place. The log-cabins which the army had occupied, four years before, in Lowantica-valley, were still standing; and it is not unlikely that some of our troops were quartered there, also, during the Winter of which we are speaking. Whatever may have been the fact in reference to this, however, we have the authority of the late Azariah Carter for saying that all the dwellings of the citizens of Bottle-hill and vicinity were filled, once more, to their utmost capacity, with officers and soldiers of the New Jersey line. Companies of soldiers passing through our village were matters of almost daily occurrence; the minute-gun and the beacon light, on Short-hills, were frequently heard and seen during the Winter; and, in va-

ious ways, the entire community was kept in a continued state of anxiety and excitement.

But the most exciting thing that occurred during that season was the mutiny which took place, in the Pennsylvania line, which had its Head-quarters on Kimball-hill. This line consisted, at the time, of about two thousand men. Being dissatisfied with the terms of their enlistment, as well as the manner in which they were paid by the Government; and having appointed a Serjeant-major for their commander, nearly the whole line marched to the magazine, on the Morristown Green, and supplied themselves with ammunition, a half dozen field-pieces, and other things that they needed; and, thus prepared, they bade defiance to their officers. Abruptly leaving the encampment, they marched off towards Basking-ridge; and, when near that place, they were overtaken by their commander, General Anthony Wayne, who, after getting in their front, cocked his pistol and presenting it at some of the ringleaders, ordered them to halt and to return instantly to their quarters, or he would fire. In an instant, scores of bayonets were placed at his bosom, while these stern words were uttered in his ears; "General! "we respect and love you; but if you fire your "pistol or attempt, in any way, to enforce your "commands, we shall, at once, put you to "death." Nothing, as a consequence, could be done to arrest this most dangerous and disgraceful proceeding. Those of their number who were, at first, disposed to remain obedient to their officers, were compelled, by their more powerful associates, to join with them in the mutiny; and thus, after sundry acts of insubordination and outrage, which naturally awakened the deepest solicitude of all this community, they marched off.

General Wayne's Head-quarters, at that time, were at the house of Deacon Ephraim Sayre, in this village. That house is still standing, and is occupied by Deacon Sayre's daughters. The General's life-guards were stationed in the kitchen, in the rear of the main house; while the room occupied by the General was the front room, on the North end of the house. A small mulatto servant accompanied him, to wait upon him; and, in order to encourage, in him, the martial spirit, he was fully armed and equipped with a keen wooden sword, which the boy, of course, took great pride in flourishing, on all proper occasions.

The Winter that General Wayne quartered in this place was one of very great severity. The snow fell, in many cases, to a great depth; and, in one or two instances, it was drifted, in the rear of the house, up to the very eaves; while sleds were driven, on the hard crust, over the fences, without obstruction, in every direction. Armed sentinels constantly patrolled, back and forth, in front of the house; and, on several nights, the storm was so violent and the cold so intense that the sentinels were obliged to be relieved every half hour.

Wayne's Head-quarters being here, we have every reason to believe that the mutiny, to which reference has been made, exhibited some of the most exciting and alarming features in this immediate vicinity. History says that the mutineers robbed General Wayne's stables of his horses, for the purpose of drawing the field-pieces which they had secured and for other purposes: and it is not unlikely that that robbery was committed in this village. Here, too, without doubt, large bodies of the mutineers marched, more than once, to make their demands upon their Commander, for their arrearages and for necessary provisions; and, in this way, the citizens of this place were exposed, in many ways, to the most imminent danger. Many a sleepless night, no doubt, was passed in all this region, while these extraordinary movements were going forward; and many a brow, here, doubtless carried the marks of anxiety and fear, until the mutiny had become ripe and the mutineers had effected their purpose.

Encouraged by the success which had attended this insurrectionary proceeding, in the Pennsylvania line, that part of the New Jersey Brigade which had been quartered on Pompton-plains, resolved to try the experiment, also. Accordingly, on the twentieth of January, 1781, a few days after the Pennsylvania troops had withdrawn, they, also, rose up in defiance of their officers; making demands upon them similar to those made by the other troops. Putting all the threats of their officers at defiance, they provided themselves with all the ammunition that they wanted and marched down, in a body, to this place, where, as has already been stated, the rest of the New Jersey line had been quartered, for the purpose of compelling them, also, to unite with them, in the shameful movement. This was a new and a most fruitful source of anxiety to those who resided in this vicinity. Several days, doubtless, were consumed by those operations, in which the whole community must have been in a state of the most intense anxiety; and it was not until, by one of those prompt and decisive strokes for which Washington was remarkable, that a large detachment of the New England troops, on the Hudson, was marched down here, and the mutineers were obliged to submit, without conditions, a few of the ringleaders being hung, in the presence of their comrades, as a warning to others, that the mutiny was quelled and the anxieties of this community were allayed.

In what particular part of this township these things were transacted, I have not yet been able to ascertain; but the probability is, that it was somewhere not far from where we are now assembled.*

On the nineteenth of the following August, (1781) a French Regiment and the New Jersey Brigade, which had been stationed at West-point, on the Hudson-river, were ordered, by the Commander-in-chief, to make all possible dispatch and unite with the main body of the Army, which was drawn up before Yorktown, in Virginia. In order to conceal their real design, they were directed to come to this vicinity and, in some way or other, to make the impression that they were about, permanently, to establish their quarters here, and that their ultimate design was to make an attack upon Staten-island, where a large body of the enemy was stationed, and where the enemy's stores were collected. Accordingly, coming down from the North, with their baggage-wagons, and their artillery, and all their various equipments for the field, and passing through Pompton, Montville, Troy, Whippany, and so on, over through Columbia and this village, they passed over to the East side of the Passaic, opposite Chatham, and formed their encampment on a piece of land which belongs, now, to Mr. William Wallace, and which lies immediately in front of the old tavern, now kept by a Mr. Samuel Condit, and on the South side of the road leading, over Short-hills, to Springfield and the sea-board. Here, they proceeded to make all their arrangements, as if they were expecting to make *that* their permanent quarters. After setting their tents, they threw up a shed, nearly four rods in length, running parallel with the road and a little back from it; and, in this shed, they constructed a large number of ovens and made other arrangements which made the impression upon the entire community that, not only these Regiments but, possibly, also, the whole Army, were to be quartered there, for a long time. Mr. Azariah Carter remembered to have seen these troops come through the place and pass on to the point which has just been described; and he, and Mr. Ichabod Bruen, and Captain Luke Carter, and others, have stated to me that they had a distinct remembrance of the impression that was made upon every mind, in this region, at that time, that the whole Army was to be permanently quartered on that ground. Having made all these arrangements and created this impression, which was doubtless carried by spies to the enemy's camp, on Staten-island, the very thing which they desired to bring about, they suddenly, and without giving any intimation of their destination, crossed over into this township; passed up to Union-hill; and, thence, by the residence of Mr. Aaron Carter, through Green-village, Basking-ridge, and so on, proceeded to Yorktown; and, long before the enemy, on Staten-island, was aware of their design, they were far beyond his reach, on their way to the South. Aged people in this vicinity say that, at the commencement of the night on which they left, the entire camp appeared as it had done before; but that, at the dawning of the following day, they had all mysteriously disappeared, leaving behind them nothing but the long shed filled with ovens; while no one knew what their designs were or whither they were going. These ovens—I have been informed, by Mr. Enos Bonnel, an aged man, who was born, and is still living, within a few rods of the spot—were standing and the subjects of remark, for several years after the close of the War, he himself having often seen them.

By this well-conceived *ruse*, these troops succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the enemy on Staten-island and in reaching the main Army, in Virginia; and their union with the Army, just at that time, contributed largely towards the capture of Cornwallis—an event which was soon after brought about.

That splendid conquest was achieved on the seventeenth of October, 1781, and may justly be regarded as the grand decisive act in that protracted and eventful struggle, which resulted in the establishment of our national independence. Great joy was experienced, everywhere, throughout this country, upon the announcement of this splendid victory; but no where more than in old Bottle-hill, where the evils of the War were felt so constantly and so heavily, and yet so cheerfully, from its commencement. Bonfires blazed here, in every direction. Our village liberty-pole which, when the War was begun, with becoming loyalty, let out the royal banner of King George to the breeze, now seemed to exult in the privilege of performing the same office to our national flag, which had been so nobly honored, during the long and bloody strife. Long and loud hurras were, everywhere, heard. Thanksgivings were sent up to Almighty God, from yonder old sanctuary; and from hundreds of family altars, over all this region, there went up, also, at that time, the incense of an earnest and heartfelt praise.

During the Winter succeeding the capture of the British Army, at Yorktown, this place was

* Mr. Tuttle is mistaken, in regard to this mutiny, as to the place of its being summarily quelled. Doctor Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, gives a minute account of the transaction, showing that the mutiny was quelled at *Pompton*, and not at Bottle-hill.—Thacher's *Military Journal*, —Hartford Ed., 1862, pages 251–253.—J. F. T.

again resorted to by a small portion of the American forces. During that season, Colonel Francis Barbor rented and occupied the old parsonage which is now owned by Doctor H. P. Green. Colonel Matthias Ogden resided at Major Luke Miller's, in the house which is still standing, a little to the North-east of the residence of his son, Mr. John B. Miller; and, while there, he rented a piece of land, belonging to the parsonage and lying not far from where Mr. David C. Miller's mill now stands. Major Eaton and family lived with Benjamin Harris, next North of the residence of Deacon Ephraim Sayre. Major Woodruff took up his quarters with Deacon Sayre, in the house now occupied by his daughters, Mrs. Richards and Miss Rachel Sayre; and Colonel Marsh occupied an old house which was then standing on the spot which has since been occupied by the dwelling of Mrs. Eliza Cook, next South-east of the Methodist parsonage. Small companies of soldiers were billetted, here and there, as formerly, in private houses, where they could be most conveniently accommodated; but the Winter passed away without any thing very special taking place beyond the ordinary occurrences of life. Companies of soldiers and trains of baggage-wagons, loaded with army stores, occasionally passed through, in one direction or the other; and, sometimes, an express-rider, dashing through, at full speed, bearing important dispatches, served to break up the monotony of the season and to remind the inhabitants that they were still subject to the liabilities and burdens incident to war.

On the eighteenth of September of the following year (1782) there was a good deal of excitement, in this place, growing out of the discovery of two very dangerous and mischievous Tories, who had been prowling about and committing depredations, in various parts of the country during almost the period of the War. In a great variety of ways, also, they acted as spies and rendered important aid to the enemy, by acting in the capacity of guides and informers. Their names were Caleb Sweery, Junior, and John Parr. At length, by a mere accident, at the time above specified, their lurking-place was discovered. A person residing in the northern borders of the Great Swamp, a little South of the "Hickory Tree," a Mr. Dickerson, saw them passing his house, at a very early hour in the morning; and the thought was readily suggested that they must be the offenders who had become the terror of this region, and for whose apprehension the Governor had offered a large reward. He communicated his suspicions to Captain Carter, who, in company, with a select number of armed neighbors, took the necessary steps for their apprehension. Not far from the spot already designated, there lived one, Isaac Badgley, whose wife, it is believed, was a relative of one of the Tories. A person, consequently, was placed near the house of this man, to watch the movements of the family; when it was soon found that his wife went, regularly, in a certain direction in the swamp, about meal-time, carrying victuals with her. Having made this discovery, the party, under Captain Carter, entered the swamp, some miles from Badgley's house, and proceeded, carefully, to within a few rods of the house when they suddenly came upon them; and, being unprepared for defence, Sweery and Parr endeavored to make their escape by flight. Seeing this, Captain Carter and his party fired upon them and killed Sweery, taking Parr a prisoner, and lodging him in Morris-county jail, very much to the relief of the surrounding community.

For a few months after this, the country continued in a very unsettled state; and Bottle-hill shared, with other places, in the inconveniences and evils which such a state of things was adapted to create. Occasionally, some portions of the Army passed through this place; and, during that Winter (1782–'3) several of the officers and soldiers were quartered here, as in former years. Washington, accompanied by his suite, it is believed, passed through here, on business connected with the Army or for the purpose of visiting his friends in this vicinity. But the dangers and excitements which had been experienced here, in former years, were, for the most part, over; and, at length, on the nineteenth of April, 1783, just eight years after the War was begun, at Lexington, the news were received in a letter from La Fayette, who, by this time, had returned to France, that the independence of the United States had been formally recognized by Great Britain, and that the War of the Revolution was at an end. Six months after this, the American Army was disbanded. Two weeks following that, New York was evacuated by the British troops, amidst great rejoicing, in which the citizens of Bottle-hill most heartily participated. The log-cabins, in the Lowantica-valley encampment, were sold at public vendue, many of them being taken down and set up in other places, in this vicinity—some of them, according to Mr. Azariah Carter, being occupied, for various purposes, here, for forty or fifty years, subsequently. On the twenty-third of December, 1783, Washington resigned his office as Commander-in-chief of the American forces; the soldiers all returned to their various pursuits, which they had left for the purpose of entering upon the War; and our beloved country was fairly afloat, among the sovereignties of the earth.

In all these rapidly succeeding and most important events, the inhabitants of Bottle-hill took a most lively interest. The fires of a pure patriot-

ism burned in multitudes of bosoms, in this vicinity, through all the various stages of the Revolution. No regrets were experienced at the review of the sacrifice which had been made, during that most trying and eventful period; a common joy pervaded all hearts, that the inestimable blessings connected with a free government had, at last, been secured; and far off be the day when the self-sacrificing and patriotic owners of this hallowed soil shall be succeeded by those who, when their country shall be exposed to similar dangers, would not, as cheerfully, encounter similar trials! May the day never come when Bottle-hill and its vicinity, so consecrated by the sufferings of patriots and so conspicuous and bright on the pages of American history, shall belong to any others than such as shall be sincere and earnest friends of their country, and who, if it ever again shall be necessary, will not, without a moment's hesitation, once more, cheerfully, "pledge to it "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred "honor."

Thus, my friends, have I detailed in your hearing some of the leading facts relating to this place, during this eventful period of the American Revolution. The theme is by no means exhausted; but enough has been said to satisfy our minds that this old place bore its full share of the trials and burdens incident to that protracted struggle for Freedom. Our ancestors, here, freely shared with the brave men who were so often quartered among them, not only their homes but their best means of subsistence. Their gave up their best rooms, generally, for their accommodation. They rendered every possible assistance to them, in carrying out their designs. The American Army knew that, when it was here, it was surrounded by a yeomanry whose betrayal of it or of the sacred cause in which it was enlisted neither *British Gold* could purchase nor British threats intimidate; and, although, for eight years, the privacy of its homes was destroyed, its fields laid waste, its granaries exhausted, and all its most precious worldly interests endangered, it swerved not, for a single moment, from the sacred cause of liberty. Had it possessed ten thousand homes or ten thousand lives, we have good reason to believe that it would have periled them all, just as freely and just as cheerfully. Noble men! noble women! *What higher earthly honor could have been conferred upon you than that Washington was willing to confide himself, and his family, and his Army, and, thereby, his country, so often to your guardianship!* Seldom did our fathers, dwelling here, lie down, at night during all those eight years, without anxiety or alarm; and yet did they never complain. Mothers, wives, and sisters were left by their husbands, and brothers, and sons, to maintain themselves, while their natural guardians were away, fighting the battles of their country; and neither did they give way to a spirit of complaining. All that they possessed they cheerfully sacrificed, for their country's good.

And now, as we are assembled here, on this seventy-ninth birth-day of our national independence, what mingled emotions of pleasure and sadness, of gratitude and pride, struggle in our minds. Along these highways, our patriot soldiers, poorly clad, almost famishing, and, in many cases, without even shoes to their feet, have travelled. The rumbling of artillery and baggage-wagons has often disturbed the scenes in which we are now mingling, now so quiet. These dwellings, all around us, were freely thrown open for the Army's comfort. These broad and beautiful acres yielded to it an ungrudged subsistence. The old church that formerly stood on yonder hill, invited it to its worship. The stirring notes of the fife and drum and the heavy tramp of armed men, passing and re-passing these roads, were often heard by our ancestors, here. The beautiful farms of Messrs. Treadwell and Kitchel, in the Lowantica-valley, have been made sacred by the sufferings of patriots. Along that old road, have passed General Knox, Colonel Hamilton, General Greene, General Lee, Baron Steuben, General Wayne, Lord Stirling, the noble Kosciusko, the immortal La Fayette, and a host of others, like them. Here, too, has been that peerless man, the immortal Washington, and, riding by his side, that magnificent woman of whom it is sufficiently honorable to say that she was a fit consort for such a man. Yes! the great Washington has travelled through our villages and along our roads; has received the salutations of our fathers, of our sisters, and mothers; has looked out upon these broad and beautiful landscapes; and, here, as he has been passing and re-passing, has his big heart been weighed down, at times, with fearful anxieties; and, here, has he often, doubtless, prayed and planned for the salvation of our beloved land. Bottle-hill and Morristown were names as familiar as household words, all over our country, at that eventful period of which we have been speaking—being borne and mentioned, every where, by those who were so often quartered here; and far off be the day when we, who have inherited these fields and who are now honored with the ownership of these beautiful places, to which they retreated from the rigors of active War, shall prove recreant to the example and the spirit of those who were, at that time, their possessors. May the day never come, when, if our country shall again be invaded and our patriotic troops shall again need a secure Winter-refuge, the owners of this hallowed soil shall

refuse to throw open their dwellings and their hearts to them. Standing here, then, on this beautiful eminence, beneath these overhanging forest arches and in the midst of all these scenes of revolutionary interest, a few only of which have now been rehearsed, let our hearts go up, in grateful acknowledgments to the G d of our Fathers—the God of battles—for all that we now possess and enjoy. With one voice and one heart, let us here utter our prayer—a prayer that shall rise to the very throne of the Almighty: May this country, with its institutions and liberties, so dearly purchased, *perish, never!* PERISH, NEVER!!

II.—LANSINGBURGH, N. Y.

ITS EARLY HISTORY, OLD SETTLERS, SCHOOLS, MARKETS, ETC.—CONTINUED, FROM PAGE 205.

V.

TAVERNS. STORES, ETC.

In 1802, Mr. Editor, you could have stood in State-street and counted some twelve or fourteen taverns. Lansingburgh needed them. There was a great deal of travel through here, to the northward. The "village of Lansingburgh, in the town of Troy" was the title; and the number of inhabitants was far in advance of Troy. This place was on the high road to Ballston and Saratoga Springs—both, even in that day, noted places, although the first-named was the most popular—and, of course, as it was before railroads were built around here, all travel went through our village. An immense line of post coaches—four-horse—went through here, two or three times a day, besides private carriages. Walbridge & Baker must have owned nearly a hundred, if not more, of these coaches. Judson's tavern, on State-street, on the now vacant lots in front of Ball's house, was a noted tavern. The landlord was the father of the present David Judson. Commodore Mc Donough stopped there, often, during the War of 1812, while he was preparing his flotilla on the lake. Several paroled English officers boarded there, awaiting exchange.

Our village was very much opposed to the War; and, when cannons and munitions of war were hauled through here, the teamsters and attendants were refused entertainment at our public-houses, and had to quarter out of doors. The Phœnix was on its present site, but a wooden building of inferior appearance to what it is at present. It was popular, because it had a ball-room; for young people, in those days, were as full of fun as they are to-day. Suzar kept a tavern where E. Filley's family now lives. He and his family, also Adencourt, grandfather of the present Clinton Adencourt, came from France, with La Fayette, in the War of the Revolution. After the War, they settled here; and when—I think, in 1825—La Fayette passed through here, from Saratoga, on his way to New York, he called on Mrs. Adencourt, who was then living with Doctor Blatchford, in the house occupied by Mrs. Wood; and there they jabbered over old times, in French.

I think if the Marquis should come into town, to day, I would recognize him. It was a great day for Lansingburgh and the surrounding places, when he went through here. Everybody turned out to do him honor. I well remember the cavalcade of gigs and sulkies—he in a gig—as they crossed from Waterford. Every little while, out came his gorgeous snuff-box, set with brilliants. He was a profuse snuffer.

Angus Murray kept tavern where John Ames has his shop; Cornelius Lansing built the Vandercook tavern, for Jonathan Wickware. It was afterwards sold to Ketchel Reed. David Thomas kept tavern where Major Dougrey now lives; and, at that time, State-street extended no further in that direction. Reuben Guild kept tavern where Zhan now is; Wolcott kept a public-house where Weaver's market now is; Barton had a public-house on the site of Lea's tin-shop; and Billy Thompson on the site now occupied by B. G. Hathaway. There was a tavern in New Guinea; one in Adamsville, on the site occupied by William Lansing. At Leach's old place, on the bank, just below the bridge, was a ferry and tavern. There was a store there, also.

On River-street, from Esek Hawkin's house to G. W. Cornell's, there was a string of stores. Along there, Tibbets, Lane, Dole, and many others, including Jonathan Burr, did a very large business in grain, of which thousands of bushels were bought and sold, here, annually. The merchants mentioned above went to Troy, in 1810, on account of the difficulties in the way of navigation.

Old John Mills built the Bank on the corner where J. G. Mc Murray now lives. James Reid was its first Cashier. He first kept store where Howlet's shoe-shop now is. He was a very large man and eminently social, withal.

We used to hold elections each Spring, for Mayor; and there was a great strife whether his honor should be from Coon-town or Shaver-town. The election was decided on this wise: a mark was made in the centre of Market-street, between Hanford's, now Striker's, and Bontecue's, now Hubbard's office. Jimmy Reid stood on the South side and Captain Ives on the North side. At a given signal, their adherents having seized hold of the coat-tails of the champions; the

leaders grasped hands and pulled: whichever leader was pulled over the line, the other was Mayor for the ensuing year. No repeating nor stuffed ballot-boxes, here. OLD MAN.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—FLOTSAM.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE, IN EARLY VIRGINIA.

To the Editors of the Evening Post:

Perhaps it is not generally known that colonial Virginia was one of the most intolerant of our early Settlements. Thomas Jefferson was the author of the Act establishing religious freedom, which was proposed in 1777 and was not passed until 1785, and then by the assistance of Mr. Madison. Mr. Jefferson's account of the early legislation, in Virginia, in reference to religion, will probably be found interesting. He informs us that:

"The first settlers of this Colony were Eng-
"lishmen, loyal subjects their King and Church,
"and the Grant to Sir Walter Raleigh contained
"an express proviso that their laws 'should not
"'be against the true Christian faith now pro-
"'fessed in the Church of England.' As soon
"as the state of the Colony admitted, it was
"divided into Parishes, in each of which was
"established a Minister of the Anglican Church,
"endowed with a fixed salary, in tobacco, a
"glebe house and land, with the other necessary
"appendages. To meet these expenses, all the
"inhabitants of the Parishes were assessed,
"whether they were or were not members of the
"established Church. Towards Quakers, who
"came here, they were most cruelly intolerant,
"driving them from the Colony by the severest
"penalties. * * * Several of the Acts of the
"Virginia Assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1693
"had made it penal in parents to refuse to have
"children baptized; had prohibited the unlaw-
"ful assembling of Quaker or other Separatists;
"had made it penal for any master of a vessel
"to bring a Quaker into the State; had order-
"ed those already here, and such as should come
"thereafter, to be imprisoned till they should
"abjure the country; provided a milder pun-
"ishment for their first and second return, but
"death for their third; had inhibited all persons
"from suffering their meetings in or near their
"houses, entertaining them, individually, or dis-
"posing of books which supported their tenets.
"If no execution took place here, as did in
"New England, it was not owing to the moder-
"ation of the Church or spirit of the Legislature,
"as may be inferred from the law itself, but to
"historical circumstances which have not been
"handed down to us. The Anglicans retained
"full possession of the country about a century."

It is my belief that this was a greater amount of intolerance than any which prevailed in New England; and it extended through a longer period. Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies did not engraft on their Codes the extremely proscriptive legislation of Massachusetts; and some excuse is found for Massachusetts on account of her fears of Archbishop Laud and the inquisitorial proceedings of his Star Chamber.

The Virginia Convention of 1776 repealed all statutory oppressions on religion; and the State was then left to the jurisdiction of the Common Law, under which heresy was punishable by burning, in accordance with the writ *De heretico comburendo*. By the Act of Assembly of 1705,
"If a person brought up in the Christian re-
"ligion denies the being of a God, or the Trini-
"ty, or asserts there are more Gods than one, or
"denies the Christian religion to be true or the
"Scriptures to be of divine authority, he is pun-
"ishable, on the first offence, by incapacity to
"hold any office or employment, ecclesiastical,
"civil, or military; on the second, by disability
"to sue, to take any gift or legacy, to be guar-
"dian, executor, or administrator, and by three
"years' imprisonment, without bail. * * *
"This is a summary view of that religious slav-
"ery under which a people have been willing to
"remain, who have lavished their lives and for-
"tunes for the establishment of their civil free-
"dom. The error seems not sufficiently eradi-
"cated, that the operations of the mind, as well
"as the acts of the body, are subjected to the
"coercion of the laws. But our rulers can have
"no authority over such natural rights, only as
"we have submitted to them. The rights of
"conscience we never submitted: we could not
"submit. We are answerable for them to our
"God."

It is a well-known apophthegm—which is found in the writings of Lord Bolingbroke, and of which the authorship is ascribed, by Mr. John Bartlett, of Boston, to Thucydides, that "His-
"tory is philosophy teaching by examples." There is certainly much of sound philosophy to be learned from the historic page. The wisdom of the present generation is derived, in large measure, from a study of the errors of the past; and, in reviewing the narrative of the intolerance of our early Colonists, we learn many lessons which will persuade us to the practice of humility and charity. "Let brotherly love continue" is the devout invocation of Scripture; and it is this principle of the Christian faith, in its development throughout the ages, which is the watch-word of human progress.

Respectfully, Yours,
NEW ENGLANDER.

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I.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*

By Joseph F. Tuttle, D D., President of Wabash College, Indiana.

Edward Everett probably never rose to loftier eloquence than when, in the New York Academy of Music, on the fourth of July, 1862, he discussed, in the presence of thousands, "the great issues "now before the country." In his closing appeal, he reached the climax as he unfolded the relations of the great West to these issues. "For years, the turning point of the politics of "the West * * * had been nothing less than "the sovereign control of the Mississippi, from "its headspring to its outlet in the Gulf." Only one sentence in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, he said, had come to the public, but that "sentence gave away half a Continent" to Napoleon, in barter for some worthless Crown bestowed on some worthless Bourbon; and, in his turn, pressed by necessity, the French Emperor, for a few millions, "transferred to us that "territory, half as big as Europe, by a stroke of "his pen." The cession included "Louisiana, "Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and "Kansas, the Territories of Nebraska, Dacotah, "and Jefferson, * * * the State of Oregon "and the Territory of Washington." The Mississippi, for the West, is the natural outlet to the sea. Some ten millions, of the loyal Western States, claim this as belonging to the common country, and, said the orator, assuming his grandest attitude and tones, "Louisiana fondly "believes that ten millions of the free people of "the Union will allow her and her seceding "brethren to open and shut the portals of this "mighty region, at their pleasure. They may "do so, and the swarming millions which "throng the course of these noble streams and "their tributaries, may consent to navigate them "by suffrance from Montgomery and Rich-"mond; but it will be when the Alleghanies "and the Rocky Mountains, which form the "eastern and western walls of the imperial "valley, shall sink to the level of the sea, and "the Mississippi and the Missouri shall flow "back to their fountains."

Suppose the traveler to embark on a lake steamer, at Cleveland, touching at Sandusky and Detroit, then passing through Lake Huron and accomplishing the circuit of Lake Michigan, touching at Chicago, Milwaukee, and Green Bay; thence traversing the entire length of Lake Superior, as far as Superior City. Let him now take the stage-coach, and traverse the wilderness, to St. Anthony; thence, by rail and horse, to the Missouri; and thence, by steamer, as high as Fort Benton. Standing there, let him attempt to realize, in thought, that he is now, by river, about three thousand miles from St. Louis. From Fort Benton, let him now strike southward, along the base of the Rocky Mountains, the entire breadth of Idaho and Colorado; as he crosses the Union Pacific Railroad, let him look eastward, and think of the Atlantic, and westward, and think of the Pacific. Let him follow, next, the southern boundaries of Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri, until he reaches the Mississippi, and thence, up the Ohio, to Pittsburgh, and thence, by rail, to Cleveland, his point of departure. He will, then, be prepared to pronounce our hackneyed phrase, "The Great West," with some adequate notion of its meaning. And yet, after all, this would be but a meagre view of any thing but "the magnificent distances" of the West.

If we leave out of this estimate the States admitted into the Union, since Kansas, we shall have enough left for our present purpose. We may call the Western States, in the order of their admission. Ohio was admitted into the Union, in 1802; Indiana, in 1816; Illinois, in 1818; Missouri, in 1820; Michigan, in 1837; Iowa, in 1846; Wisconsin, in 1848; Minnesota, in 1857; and Kansas in 1860. Let it be remembered that more than ten years have passed since the statistics of the last decennial census were compiled; and that all these States, but especially the newer ones, have made vast progress since that time. Now, according to the tables of 1860, in these nine States, over one hundred millions of acres—one half of which

were occupied—were owned by citizens and valued at over two billions of dollars. To show what changes have taken place since 1860, in this respect, Iowa may be cited. In 1860, less than eleven millions of acres were owned by citizens; in 1867, there were nearly thirty millions. In 1850, these nine States—Kansas not yet admitted—had nine hundred and eleven thousand dwellings; in 1860, one million.

It would be interesting to examine the census, in order to present to our readers a view of the physical greatness of these States as exhibited in their improved lands, the number of their dwellings, the amounts of grain and animals, the number of their newspapers and other periodicals, the products of their skilled labor in iron, cotton, woolen, and other materials—indeed, in all that goes to make up the vast sum total of money values of these States; but, inasmuch as the census of 1870 is not yet accessible, we prefer to omit these facts and pass on to other statements of a more significant and imposing character.

On the twelfth of April, 1861, at twenty minutes past four in the morning, Edward Ruffen of Virginia was permitted by General Beauregard to make his name forever infamous by firing the first shot at the national flag that floated over Fort Sumter; and, on Saturday, the thirteenth of April, the fort surrendered. As the wires conveyed the intelligence, South, North, and West, the wildest excitement was produced. The South was wild with joy at the result; whilst the North and West were wild with rage, at the insult offered to the national symbol and the humiliation of the national honor. We could not, if we would, do perfect justice to the New England and Middle States, in the treasure, the munitions, and the men they sent to the field. On the fifteenth of April, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, for three months, to suppress the rebellion; and, the same day, Jefferson Davis and other traitors laughed a loud laugh at the news; but, in reality there was nothing to cause laughter. The President may have displayed simplicity in his plan, as if such a force could put down such an enemy; but a man of his docility very easily learned better; whilst, all over the North and West, the patriotic fever swept like a hurricane. Such a Sunday was never known on this Continent, as that which succeeded the fall of Sumter and preceded the first call for troops. The wires had conveyed the distressing news, in every direction; and, whilst multitudes crowded the churches, other multitudes gathered at the street-corners or in public halls, to discuss the situation. The one thought that oppressed the hearts of all was that "the dear old flag had been insulted by "traitors." At the East, multitudes were found who did not believe in proceeding too fast or pushing matters to extremes. Towns and cities, in that section, were so unfortunate as to be creditors to the amount of millions to persons at the South. The very harness by which the rebels drew their cannon, the very saddles they rode on, the very "cadet-gray" in which thousands of their soldiers were clothed, were bought at the North, on credit. The hatters and clothiers of Newark, the carriage and harness makers of New Haven, the great merchants of New York, and Philadelphia, and Boston, looked at the situation, through the vast debts owed them at the South. It casts no reflections on their integrity or patriotism, to say they *hoped* that mild means would heal the difficulty and save also their endangered capital.

The surrender of Sumter was known in the great cities of the West, on Saturday evening; and, on Sunday, the fourteenth of April, it was known at every telegraph-station, West of the Alleghanies, and thence, widely circulated, in every direction. Lorin Andrew, President of Kenyon-college, was the earliest to offer himself as a soldier; and, before the flag over Sumter was lowered, "twenty full Companies "were offered the Governor of Ohio, for imme-"diate service." "But a single day was re-"quired to raise the first two Ohio Regiments, "in answer to the President's call." In Indiana, that Sunday was devoted, in many places, to making clothes for the soldiers. Lewis Wallace, of Crawfordsville, had drilled a Company of Zouaves; and, under his direction, Blinn, one of his pupils, had drilled the cadets in Wabash-college so thoroughly as, in the opinion of some, to excel his master. Both these Companies, at once, enlisted under Wallace; and Companies from the country filled up the Regiment—the immortal Eleventh Indiana Volunteers—in a trice. That great organizer, Governor Morton, was at the helm, in the Hoosier State, as Governor Dennison was in the Buckeye. In Illinois, and Michigan, and Iowa, and Wisconsin, and Kansas, the flood of popular feeling flowed in the same direction, until it seemed as if that sublime hypothesis with which Everett closed his Oration, as quoted already, in the commencement of this article, was converted into a sublime fact. Ten millions of people rose to a level with the exigency of the hour, and proved that it would be easier to smooth down the two great mountain-ranges and turn the two great rivers of the West back upon their sources, than for them to surrender to treason, not merely the Mississippi-valley but their country.

The object of these statements is not merely to show what these Western States *now* are, but

to reflect the luster of their present greatness on the humble but illustrious beginnings of that greatness.

From the voluminous facts which Mr. Reid, in his *Ohio in the War*, has, with such painstaking, presented in his work, we select a few. "At the close of the War against the Rebellion, "the State of Ohio had in the national service "two hundred Regiments of all arms. In the "course of the War, she furnished two hun-"dred and thirty Regiments, besides twenty-"six independent Batteries of Artillery, five "independent Companies of Cavalry, several "Companies of Sharp-shooters, large parts of "five Regiments credited to the West Virginia "contingent, two credited to the Kentucky con-"tingent, two transferred to 'United States "'Colored Troops,' and a large proportion of "the rank and file for the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-"fifth Massachusetts. * * * In these vari-"ous organizations, as original members or as "recruits, the State furnished to the national "service the magnificent army of three hun-"dred and ten thousand, six hundred and fifty-"four soldiers. * * * * The period of ser-"vice of these troops ranged from that of the "National Guards, for a hundred days, to that "of the Veteran Volunteers, for five years. "Reduced to the department standard, they "represent not quite two hundred and forty "thousand three-years' soldiers." And then Mr. Reid, with unconcealed pride, tells where and "how they fought on well-nigh every battle-field "of the War * * * and the record of what "they did will never cease to be cherished by "their grateful countrymen." It was in such sublime bountifulness, in the gifts dearest to herself, that Ohio redeemed the worthy reply of Governor Dennison to the insolent Message of the rebel Governor of Kentucky to the President's first call for troops: "IF KENTUCKY RE-"FUSES TO FILL HER QUOTA, OHIO WILL FILL IT "FOR HER." And what was done by Ohio was paralleled by Indiana, Illinois, and the other Western States. They were fired with no half-hearted interest, but with a determination which sent to the field the very best of her sons.

As for the sanitary arrangements and the means contributed, directly, by the people of these States, to the soldiers in the field and in the hospital, they were enormous. Their gifts, in some cases, required nothing less than whole freight-trains to convey them. The facts can never be known, except approximately; but could they be known and reduced to value, in dollars, to weight, in tons, or bulk, in cords, the aggregate would constitute one of the most imposing of this great period.

In the great review of our Armies, at Washington city, at the close of the War, when the legions of the Potomac, the Shenandoah, and Tennessee, under Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman, marched before the President and multitudes of admiring spectators, it was remarked, by eastern men, that the manhood material, the yeoman-quality, and "the intense, quick, and "long swinging stride of the western troops, "distinguished them from the eastern." All were troops worthy of the deliverance the nation had experienced at their hands; but not least illustrious among them, at that national pageant, were those that had been sent by those nine Western States.

As one rides along the railway which traverses the unequaled "Cheat-mountain region," he asks what the forces were that heaved up these mountains and then split them apart, in these sublime clefts? As he rides over the wide-extended prairies of the West, beholding their matchless beauty and richness, he asks what were the causes that made them what they are? Some have reached a *grand effect* in these Western States, and we ask for the *causes* of it. The mere division of similar territories, by a river, or the mere circumstance of a few degrees' difference of Latitude cannot account for the prosperity of one section and the depression of another. We propose to discuss this question, at some length, as due both to history and philosophy.

"The poor wise man, by his wisdom, deliv-"ered the city; yet no man remembered that "same poor man;" and yet, we are told, "the "words of wise men are heard in quiet more "than the cry of him that ruleth among fools." The great beneficent results which history names are often traced to wrong agents; and the real heroes whose faith and wisdom achieved these results are forgotten. To too great an extent this has been true in the history of this gigantic western civilization.

Without going back to trace the methods by which the United States came in possession of the North-western Territory and of the Louisiana Territory—including part of the States whose growth we have been tracing—it is sufficient to say that, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1785, two Army-officers, General Rufus Putnam and Colonel Benjamin Tupper, published a plan which led to the organization of the "OHIO COMPANY;" and this was addressed, mainly, to "officers and soldiers who "have served in the late War, and who are, by "an Ordinance of the Honorable Congress, to re-"ceive certain tracts of land in the Ohio Coun-"try." This led to a meeting, in Boston, of delegates elected according to the plan. That meeting was made up of eleven delegates. General Rufus Putnam was elected Chairman. He was a man of great integrity and inde-

pendence; and, by his own efforts, he had become one of the most accomplished Engineers in the American Army. He was greatly honored by Washington; and it was undoubtedly *his* plan and not Colonel Gridley's, as is commonly stated, that was adopted by Washington, for the occupation of Dorchester Heights, and which forced the evacuation of Boston.—(Hildreth's *Lives of Early Settlers of Ohio*, 56.) He was a good man; but *he* was not the man who was to drop the seed-corns of western greatness. He and his companions had fought well for the country, and they seemed ready to have all the rigors of frontier life; but the honored agent of Divine Providence, in imparting to the Northwest the right type of civilization was the delegate from Essex-county, Massachusetts, the Rev. Manassah Cutler—usually called "Doctor "Cutler," for the double reason that he had been honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws, by Yale-college, and he was also a successful practitioner of Medicine, in the parish of which he was Pastor, fifty-two years.

Doctor Cutler was born at Killingly, Connecticut, in 1742; and graduated at Yale-college, in 1765. For a time, he successfully practised Law, in Martha's Vineyard; but, in 1771, was ordained to the Christian ministry, as Pastor of the Hamilton-church, in Essex-county, Massachusetts, which position he worthily filled until his death, in 1823. He is represented as a man of superior abilities and attainments. He attained local celebrity, as a physician, and a national celebrity, as a botanist, for which reason he was elected an Honorary Member of several scientific associations in Philadelphia and other parts of the country. During two Campaigns, he was a Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army; and it thus happened that he was elected a member of the Convention that formed the Ohio Company. His genial manner, great common sense, extended acquaintance, and his interest in the enterprise, led to his being selected as the Company's agent, to proceed to New York, where Congress was in Session, to negotiate for Ohio lands. In June, 1787, he started for New York, in his own carriage. He had provided himself with letters of introduction to leading men, on his route and in Congress.

The manuscript copy of his journal tells us that, at Providence, he "received a polite in-"vitation from Governor Bowen, in the name "of a large company, to join them in a Turtle-"frolic, six miles out of town; but, much "against my inclination, I was obliged to ex-"cuse myself: spending my time in Turtle-"frolics would very ill comport with the long "journey and public business I had undertaken. "As I went out of town, Mr. Hitchcock and "myself waited on Governor Bowen. I in-"formed him it was my wish to visit the fa-"mous steam-engine, at Cranston, of which he "was one of the proprietors. He proposed "excusing himself from the Turtle-party and "riding out with me, to the engine, eight miles "from Providence; but as it must have de-"prived him of so much pleasure, as they had "in prospect, I insisted on his not thinking of "it and went on, myself, to Cranston. This "curious machine was made under the direc-"tion of Mr. Joseph Brown, of Providence, "and is a striking proof of the abilities of that "able philosopher. The invention was not new; "but he had made many valuable improve-"ments in simplifying and making the working "of it more convenient above what has been "done in Europe. It cost upwards of one "thousand pounds sterling."

A comparison of this "famous engine" of that day with one of the many now made, at the Novelty and other Works, and to be seen at hundreds of Water-works and Manufactories, would show that some progress has been made in that line, since Doctor Cutler went out of his way eight miles to see an engine that was then "a seven days'-wonder."

It seems, also, that the "turtle-party" of 1787, must be the lawful progenitor of the "clam-bake" in which the Rhode Islanders of our day take so much delight.

Having passed through the Notch, in the Hartford "Mountains," which he describes, Doctor Cutler came to East Hartford, where his dignified manners so impressed a "Connecticut "tavern keeper, a man of great *sagacity* and "remarkable *complaisance*," that, "after taking "off his hat and making several bows and "scrapes with his feet, asked me if I was not "the *Governor!*"

It is exceedingly interesting to compare the Doctor's description of several towns and cities, as they were in 1787, with what they are now. For instance, who, in passing through the elegant streets and suburbs of the city of Hartford, as it now is, would suspect that Cutler was describing the same place, as it was, eighty-one years ago? "Went out to Hartford," continues Doctor Cutler, "by the Southern "road. The city of Hartford is very delight-"fully situated on high ground, and the bank "of a beautiful river. The prospect is exten-"sive and the streets handsome. The main "street, which is very straight and spacious, "running the whole length of the city, is ele-"gant. The houses are very large and many "of them of brick, with large shops of goods, "of every kind, fronting the street. But the "narrow bridge over the small river that runs

"through the city, crossing the street at right "angles, greatly injures the appearance and is "truly disgusting.

"After dinner, I called on my class-mate, "Jonathan Ball, Esq., one of the Aldermen of "the city, but did not get out of my carriage. "I had not seen him, nor any of my class-mates, "in this part of the country, since we com "menced, at college, twenty two years ago. I "was surprised to find that he knew me, at "some distance; for he was sitting in the stoop "of the door. I certainly should not have "readily recognized him, had I not known "whom I expected to see. He very soon ap "peared much the same as he used to do, ex "cepting the inroads of time had made in the "features of his face. He urged me to spend "some time with him; but it was not in my "power. I also called on my class mate, Col "onel Hezekiah Wyllis. He lives with his "father, Colonel Wyllis, Secretary of State, in "an elegant seat, just without the city, situated "on a high eminence which overlooks the city "and commands a most enchanting prospect o "the river, meandering through rich meadows "and fertile fields, for ten or fifteen miles. The "land cape from this seat far exceeds any I "have ever seen, in any part of the country. "My good old friend did not recognize me, for "some time; for I was determined not to tell "him my name. At length, he recollected me; "and so much were his tender passions moved, "that he could not refrain from tears. We had "been particularly intimate at College —lived "together, two years, in the same chamber. "The firmest affection and friendship subsisted "between us, during the whole of our residence "at college. Our attachment had been cement "ed by a similar taste for the same course of "studies, which we generally pursued togeth "er, and were constant companions, in our "amusements and parties of pleasure. It was "my intention not to light; but such was his "importunity or rather force, that I could not "withstand it. His lady, who is beautiful and "amiable, received me with great politeness. "She is much younger than himself; for he "entered into the connubial state late in life, "having been married but three years. We "spent two or three hours in running over "college scenes, which he seemed to dwell "upon with peculiar satisfaction, and in giving "each other the history of what had passed "since we left our *alma mater*. With the "greatest difficulty, I took my leave, but not "without promising to spend two or three days "with him, on my return. This unexpected "tenderness of affection, in my friend, made so "deep an impression on my mind that I felt it "much more sensibly after I left him than be "fore; and entirely discomposed me for the "remainder of the day."

Those familiar with that portion of the Connecticut-valley, in the midst of which Middletown is situated, will appreciate Doctor Cutler's "fine writing," as he attempts to describe it. "The landscape," so he writes, "appeared to "me of a very peculiar style. The scene was "truly picturesque and romantic: the effect "was greatly heightened by the particular situ "ation of the sun, which was then about half "an hour high. The distant shadows were pro "tracted; and a thin haziness bordered the "landscape, near the horizon, and spread a dubi "ous veil, from side to side. This greatly "heightened the beauty of the distant objects. "It hid nothing and sweetened the hues of "nature; gave a consequence to every distant "object, by giving it a more indistinct form; "corrected the glare of color; softened the "hardness of outlines; and, above all, threw "over the landscape the harmonizing tint which "blended the whole into repose and beauty. "In the foreground, was Middletown. On my "left was Connecticut-river, three fourths of a "mile in breadth and, at a distance from "the top of the hill, rolling her water with a "slow but majestic pace, through the center of "the landscape, towards the southern horizon. "* * * I fancied myself in the Elysian "fields, and gazed with delightful astonishment, "until the sun was set and the sable curtains "of the night so far drawn as to close the "enchanting scene. * * * Come to Mid dle "town by a road passing close to the bank of "the river, perfectly level and smooth, the "sides next the lots of interval being lined, for "two miles, with the tallest and straightest But "ton wood trees I ever saw."

According to the custom of the day, being a clergyman, he was welcomed at any house he might stop at to claim hospitality; and, accordingly, he seldom was under the necessity of remaining at the tavern during his long journey. Influenced by the fact that General Samuel Holden Parsons, an influential public man, a somewhat noted officer in the Revolutionary Army, and, if we mistake not, at this very time, a member of the Continental Congress, resided there, Doctor Cutler called on him, and was most hospitably entertained in his family.

General Parsons was graduated at Harvard, in 1756; and "among his early friends and "correspondents is the name of John Adams." Previous to the Revolutionary War, for twelve years, he had been a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and "received repeat "ed proofs of public confidence, in various "appointments of honor and trust." He was among the earliest of the patriots who urged

resistance to the unjust claims of Great Britain; and, in 1776, Congress gave him the commission of Brigadier-general. He was complimented, both by Washington and Congress, for gallant service, in 1777. He was honored with the confidence of the Commander-in chief, in various ways; and was one of the Court that tried André. After the War, he settled in Middletown, and successfully engaged in the practice of law. He was also several times sent to the Legislature.

The influence of such a public man would be of great service to the agent of the new Company, in their proposed purchase of lands in the western country. In addition to these considerations, was the further fact that General Parsons had been "appointed a Commissioner, "in connection with Generals Richard Butler, "of Pittsburg, and George Rogers Clarke, of "Kentucky, to treat with the Shawanoe Indians, "near the Falls of the Ohio, for extinguishing "the aboriginal title to certain lands within the "Northwestern Territory. This Treaty was "held on the northwestern bank of the Ohio, "near the mouth of the Great Miami, on the "thirty first of January, 1786; and the Indians "then ceded to the United States a large and "valuable tract of land upon which the flour-"ishing city of Cincinnati now stands."—(HILDRETH'S *Early Settlers of Ohio*, 215.)

In applying to a man of such influence and experience, Doctor Cutler displayed characteristic wisdom. There is here a fact which shows on what little things the greatest movements depend. Whilst he was on his first expedition, West, and when the Ohio Company was talked of, as a possibility, it is said that that shrewd old frontiers man, Zane, who gave name to Zanesville, advised General Parsons to locate the lands on the *Miami* and not on the Muskingum. Parsons suspected that Zane gave the advice from interested motives; and, when the location was actually made, gave the weight of his influence against the Miami country, which is one of the finest sections in the territory.

One of the most important services rendered Doctor Cutler, by General Parsons, was the numerous letters of introduction which he gave him to members of Congress and other influential gentlemen, in New York and Philadelphia.

Doctor Cutler's account of his Sabbath, in Middletown, is interesting: "SUNDAY, *July 1.* "This morning, General Parsons introduced me "to Mr. Huntington (the Pastor at Middle-"town) but engaged me to dine with him. I "preached in the morning and afternoon. Mr. "Huntington's meeting-house is very large, but "an ancient fabric. The house was crowded "and the people, in general, dressed in a very "tasty manner. It was Mr. Huntington's com-"munion; and I was pleased to see that his "church was so large as to fill nearly the whole "body of the meeting house. The greater part "of the married people of the congregation, I "believe, belong to his church; and I was "astonished to observe the great number of men "who appeared to be upwards of seventy. I "drank tea and spent the afternoon with Mr. "Huntington. He is sociable and agreeable; "and his acquired and natural abilities are emi-"nent, though I presume he is not very popu-"lar as a preacher, having somewhat of a "hesitancy in his delivery. He is a brother of "Governor Huntington and Doctor Hunting-"ton. He commenced two years before I en-"tered college. I spent the afternoon most "agreeably, and the evening equally so, at "General Parsons', in company with my good "old friend, Mr. Plumb, who has left the desk "for the bar, and is set down as an Attorney "in this city. Mrs. Parsons, who appears to "be an amiable lady, of rather a serious turn, "treated me with the greatest kindness and "attention. I cannot recollect the time when I "felt myself so perfectly composed and free, in "the public exercises, and performed with "greater ease than on this day. This convinces "me of the advantage it gives a preacher over "his auditors and will account for the repeated "compliments I received, so far beyond what I "have experienced before; though, perhaps, I "was never more fortunate in the selection of "my Sermons and had nearly committed them "to memory."

Having secured the main object of his visit at Middletown, Doctor Cutler continued his journey: and, on the second of July, reached New Haven, which, for three years, had been an incorporated city.

As all that pertains to the history of the city, honored by the presence of Yale college, must possess a general interest, and especially all that gives us a look at the great man who was then at the head of the College, with many other facts, we quote Doctor Cutler's description, in full. The contrast between "the city of "sand," as it was, in 1787, with about four thousand inhabitants, and "the city of elms," as it now is, and the Yale-college of eighty-one years ago and the Yale college of our day, which each one will draw for himself, cannot fail to be one of interest.

"*July 2.* It was nine o'clock, this morning, "before General Parsons and myself had arrang-"ed all our matters with respect to my busi-"ness with Congress. He favored me with a "large number of letters to members of Con-"gress and other gentlemen, in New York.

"Went on to New Haven; took lodgings at "Miles' Tavern, sign of the Lion, kept in an

"elegant style. The house has good accommo-
"dations; the stables are good and well sup-
"plied with hostlers. After I had dressed and
"waited on the gentleman-barber, I paid my
"compliments to Doctor Stiles, the President of
"the College. The Doctor was just coming out
"of his gate, going to the Chapel, to attend
"evening prayers. I begged leave to accom-
"pany him; and, for the first time, attended
"prayers in the College chapel, since I took my
"degree. I declined a seat in the desk. The
"President introduced me into the stranger's
"pew. The students were about one hundred
"and sixty; and the several Classes made a very
"respectable appearance. The dress and man-
"ners of the Senior Class were genteel and
"graceful. A view of the seats, pews, and
"gallery called up a series of reflections of the
"hours I had spent within those walls, at pub-
"lic worship, in public examinations, every
"quarter, and various exhibitions that sensibly
"move my tender passions. After prayers, the
"President introduced me to the Tutors, Mr.
"Baldwin, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Homes, and Mr.
"Davidson. We also went to Mr. Homes'
"chamber, where we spent a couple of hours
"very agreeably: the conversation was wholly
"confined to literary subjects and the present
"state of American Colleges. The President
"proposed a walk to Doctor Wales's, the Pro-
"fessor of Divinity. He was gone out; we
"therefore returned, and spent the remainder
"of the evening at the President's house. The
"Doctor and Mrs. Stiles were very urgent that
"I should take a bed with them; but having
"engaged one at the tavern, I declined. They
"engaged me to breakfast in the morning.

"*July 3, 1787.* Very early this morning I
"took a walk through the principal street of
"the lower part of the city. It seems to have
"been built nearly new, since I left the town. I
"was surprised to find that few objects seemed
"to be familiar; that the traces of this part of
"the town, where I had so many pleasant walks,
"were almost entirely eradicated from my
"mind. The long wharf was most natural,
"though much enlarged.

"The most affecting loss to me is the loss of
"'*Mother Yale*'—the old frame College, so di-
"lapidated as to be taken down, in 1782.
"Yale-college was, by far, the most sightly
"building belonging to the University, and
"most advantageously situated. It gave an air
"of grandeur to the others. There are now
"only Connecticut Hall, the Chapel—which is
"three story, containing the Library and Cabi-
"net Chamber—the Divinity Hall, and *kitchen*.
"These are all built of brick, but so situated as
"to make very little show. The City of New
"Haven covers a very large piece of ground, a
"little descending, with a southern aspect. It
"is laid out in regular squares, with a public
"square in the center. There is a row of trees
"set out around the public square, which were
"small when I was at College, but now have
"became larger and add much to its beauty.
"The houses, in general, are good, some of
"them elegant. The streets are generally dry,
"but very sandy, and will, probably, never be
"paved, as it would be attended with great
"expense. The harbor is good, and the ship-
"ping considerable—principally in the coasting
"and West India trade.

"Breakfasted at Doctor Stiles. He has four
"daughters, unmarried, and very agreeable.
"His only son is in the law-way, settled in the
"country. Miss *Channing*, a young lady from
"Newport, and of very uncommon literary
"attainments, was here, on a visit. She not
"only reads but speaks French, Latin, and
"Greek, with great ease; and has furnished
"her mind with a general knowledge of the
"whole circle of science, particularly Astrono-
"my and Natural Philosophy: she likewise
"has a high taste for the fine arts; and dis-
"courses, with great judgment, on eloquence,
"oratory, painting and sculpture, etc; she is
"very sociable, and knows how to take the ad-
"vantage of every incident, to render herself
"agreeable; and no subject seems to come
"amiss. Her style is exceedingly correct and
"elegant, without the least symptom of affecta-
"tion. How highly ornamental is such an
"education to a female character, when con-
"nected with the softer graces and politeness
"of manners.

"Immediately after breakfast, the Tutors came
"in to invite me to College. Doctor Stiles ac-
"companied us. We took a view of the Li-
"brary, the Philosophy Chamber, and Cabinet.
"The Library is small. The collection consists
"of rather antiquated authors. The Philosoph-
"ical apparatus is still less valuable. A hand-
"some sum is now collecting for purchasing a
"complete philosophical apparatus. The Cabi-
"net is a good collection but very badly disposed.
"Although I had intended to proceed on my
"journey, the time passed insensibly, in the
"agreeable company of these gentlemen, who
"are truly literary characters; and I consented
"to tarry until dinner. Indeed, I could not
"deny myself the pleasure of spending a little
"time at the place where I received my edu-
"cation, from which I had been absent so many
"years. At eleven o'clock, the Tutors, attended
"their Classes; and the Doctor and I returned to
"his house. I sent for my trunk and showed the
"Doctor, his lady, and the young ladies my
"botanical apparatus and books, with which
"they were all highly pleased, having never

"seen any thing of the kind before. I had "collected a number of flowers, the day before, "which I had not had time to examine. They "were preserved, perfectly fresh, in my botan- "ical box. From them, I gave a short lec- "ture on the parts of fructification, separating "and exhibiting the parts, at the same time, "which was highly amusing to the company. "The Doctor was extremely pleased with my "Hobby-horse, and was determined to mount "him and have a ride himself. I had to ex- "plain technical terms and construe crabbed "finican Latin, for an hour on a stretch. At "length, a call to dinner put an end to my fa- "tigue; but the Hobby horse was introduced "at the table, and each of the company must "have a ride, in turn. After dinner, I was "determined to set out, immediately; but there "was no such thing as getting away. We "returned to the microscope and the plants. "Doctor Wales came in, to see me, and spend "the afternoon, who joined the Doctor in press- "ing me to spend the next day (fourth of July) "in the city, which was to be celebrated, by "order of the Corporation, with great mili- "tary parade, an Oration, in the Brick meet- "ing-house, a public dinner, in the State "House, etc. Before I left the Doctor's house, "and by his procuring, I suppose, a billet "was sent me by the Mayor of the city, to "dine, the next day, with the Governors of "the College, Corporation of the city, etc. I "was obliged to return an answer directly op- "posed to my feelings, and excused myself "from accepting the invitation, as I was under "the necessity of leaving the city, that even- "ing. As I was determined to go, Doctor "Stiles and Doctor Wales were so complaisant "as to propose to accompany me to West Haven, "six miles from the city, which they did. It "was with the greatest reluctance that I took "my leave of this very agreeable family, where "I had been shown so much kindness, polite- "ness, and attention."

We cannot here refrain from copying a single passage from the Diary of President Stiles, who was, in many respects, a very remarkable man and who figures so pleasantly in Doctor Cutler's diary. It shows his work and emoluments, in a striking light. "The business of the "Professorship of Divinity now devolves on me, "for the present—and did for two years—and, "besides my history lecture, I, weekly, give a "public dissertation, on astronomical subjects, "besides my private or chamber-lecture, on The- "ology, every Saturday afternoon. And, besides "these, I attend every day, the recitations of "the Senior and Junior classes, in philosophy, "i. e., each, one recitation a day. So that I am "called to fill the offices of three Professor- "ships and the Presidency, at the same time. "And yet the Corporation keep me in so poor "and parsimonious a manner, that domestic "cares and the *res angustæ domi* are a heavier "anxiety, than all my college cares."—(Wool- sey's *Historical Discourse*, 116.)

"*July 4.* Pursued my journey. Arrived at "Napp's, in Horse Neck, about ten o'clock. "Both Napp and his wife have the air of a "gentleman and lady—keep good attendants "and a house well furnished with everything "necessary for a tavern. I felt more anxious "for my horse than for myself; but it being "dark and much fatigued, I wished to excuse "myself from going to the stables. The hostler "is *Cuff*. After he had given my horse oats, I "gave him a serious charge to rub him well "down and give him a good supper. His "ready promises made me suspect him the more. "'Well,' says I, 'my lad, if you do not take "'good care of him, my horse will certainly tell "'me, in the morning, and you may depend on "'a flogging!' 'What? your horse tell you? "'Da dibble! Your horse speak—I no blieve "'dat!' 'Yes, Cuff, you shall see what he "'will do, in the morning.'

"In the morning, Cuff came, grinning and "laughing, with my horse. 'Now, Massa,' said "he, 'what your horse say? If he say, I no "'give him good supper, he lie like da dib- "'ble!'

"*July 5.* Was on my way, some time be- "fore sunrise. After riding about three miles, "a gentleman overtook me, who was riding in a "whisker (?) and bound to New York. Found "him very sociable and agreeable. At East "Chester, saw a stone Church, which was great- "ly injured by the British troops—the windows, "which were remarkable for their size, were "taken out and destroyed, and have not been "since repaired. On our way to this place, my "fellow traveler shewed me several spots where "the British and American troops engaged in "action, and entertained me with the various "movements of the two Armies, while they "were in this vicinity. About three miles from "this place, is a river which was the separating "line between the two armies, for a considera- "ble time. The name of the river he has for- "got. A singular achievement is mentioned, "of a British light-horseman, at the bridge "over the river, which appeared to me incredi- "ble. The bridge is high from the water; "and the abutments at least ten feet apart. "This bridge was taken up, by the Americans. "It is said that a light-horseman, who had "crossed the river, above, in order to reconnoitre, "was discovered, near the bridge, on the Amer- "ican side, and closely pursued by a body of "horse. He made for the bridge, but did not

"know that it was taken up, until he came "within a few yards. He had no alternative but "to jump his horse over or be taken prisoner. "He preferred the former, and clapped his "spurs to his horse and leaped him from abut- "ment to abutment, and so made his escape.

"On the side where the British troops lay, the "hills and highlands were strongly entrenched. "About two miles before we came to Kings "bridge, we had an extensive view of the lofty "shore, on the opposite side of the Hudson-riv- "er. * * * On this side of the river, the "lands are rather low, interspersed with swell "ing hills and in a state of high cultivation. "Several *manors*, with the villas of the owners, "present themselves to view. The sides of the "river present an unusual and pleasing land "scape. The western bank is fortified by the "range of mountains from opposite New York "as far up as Stony Point, forty or fifty miles, "so that it proved a complete barrier against "the British troops, during the late war. "King's-bridge is built over a narrow river, "which communicates with the Hudson and "Long Island Sound. It was, a considerable "time, the line between the two armies.

"Passed the ruins of several British and "American encampments and fortifications. My "companion appeared to be perfectly intelligent "and well-informed, much of a gentleman, and "of most pleasing address. He was, at differ- "ent times, in the country and in New York, "in the British and American encampments. I "watched him, to discover whether he was a "Whig or a Tory; but he was so guarded, even "in his praises and censures, which, on differ- "ent occasions, he bestowed upon the conduct "of the two armies, and expressed himself "with so much judgment and impartiality, that "I was unable to determine whether he was an "American or a Briton. However, I am inclin- "ed to think he is a Whig. Two miles from "the city, took leave of my fellow traveler— "exchanged our names, which, before, had "been unknown to each other, and parted with "apparent reluctance, on both sides, most sin- "cerely so on mine. His name was *Nicholson*, "a merchant from Long Island.

"About three o'clock I arrived at the city "of New York, by the road that enters through "the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of "the Plow and Harrow—Bowie's.

"After dressing myself, took a walk in the "city. When I came to examine my letters of "introduction I found them so accumulated "that I hardly knew which to deliver first. As "this is rather a curiosity to me I am determin- "ed to preserve a catalogue although only a "part are to be delivered in New York."

This catalogue will be a curiosity to our readers and we reproduce it as such, and not for this reason merely, but to show how this New England clergyman fortified himself for the execution of his delicate and important mission.

The following letters were addressed to persons in Philadelphia, viz.: the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Mr. T. D. Blanchard, Samuel Van Horn, his Excellency Doctor Franklin, Barnabas Binney, M.D., Benjamin Rush, M.D., John Morgan, M.D., Doctor D. Shippen, Mr. Benjamin Park, Merchant, Mr. William Bell, Merchant, Mr. Robert Aiken, Printer, Doctor Gerardus Clarkson, Rev. Dr. Ewing, Provost of the College in Philadelphia, David Rittenhouse, Esq., his Excellency the President of the Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Rev. Doctor Sproat, Rev. William Rogers.

The following were addressed to persons in New York, viz.: Mr. Hugh Henderson, Merchant, Rev. Dr. Rogers, Sir John Temple Lady Temple, Doctor Ebenezer Crosby, Hon. Ebenezer Hazzard, General Knox, Colonel Richard Platt, General N. Webb.

The following are named as Members of Congress viz.: Colonel Carrington, Colonel Grayson, Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Hon. Dr. Lee and Hon. William Daer, both Members of the Board of Treasury, his Excellency General St. Clair, President of Congress, Hon. Melancthon Smith, Hon. E. Benson, Hon. Samuel Baldwin, Hon. Roger Sherman, Hon. William Swaine, and Hon. W. Livingston of the Board of Treasury.

Besides these, Doctor Cutler had letters to Monsieur Le Mechard, Superintendent of the French King's Botanical Garden, New Jersey, Colonel George Morgan, Princeton, New Jersey, Rev. Dr. Smith, vice President of New Jersey College, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, President of New Jersey College.

"The last letter I delivered was to Mr. Hugh "Henderson. He is a wholesale merchant, and "lives in genteel style. Mrs. Henderson is a "sister of Mrs. Willard, which was the occa- "sion of my receiving an introductory letter "from Doctor Willard. Mr. Henderson received "me very politely. After tea, he proposed a "walk about the city; but first gave me a spec- "imen of Scotch generosity, in urging me to "take lodgings with him, whilst I remained in "the city and assigned me one of his front "chambers, and ordered his servant, *Sterling*, "to attend me. Upon finding no apology "would avail, I accepted his invitation; and "his servant was sent for my baggage. *We "rambled over a considerable part of the city "before dark;* delivered a number of my let- "ters; and returned and spent the evening, "very agreeably, at Mr. Henderson's. He lives

"on Golden Hill, on Golden Hill-street, No. "14."

Such was the introduction of our tourist to the commercial metropolis of America; and we may here be indulged in a few statements concerning it, before proceeding with the Diary.

[To be Continued.]

II.—*AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.*—

Continued from Page 282.

By Ethan Allen, Esqr.

Section II

Of the immortality of the soul.

The Doctrine of a real though invisible substance of the soul, will not (in my opinion) militate against the immortality of it, but on the contrary render the evidence of it more conspicuous and unexceptionable. Though our external senses and internal reflections and consciousness, are incompitent to perceive, or comprehend the intrinsic Nature of the soul, yet, we may negatively understand, that it does not exist of sensless matter, since we are conscious of the display of rationality, which stupid matter is void of; and in as much as the essence of the soul does not derive its existence from incogitative substances, which, in external nature, we perceive by the senses, we can not infer the dissolution of the soul from that of the body; yet if the Soul was material its dissolutiou would follow of consequence.

But should we exclude in our Idea of the essence of the soul all possible substance from it, we should Ideally exclude its existence, for a soul must exist of something since it can not exist of nothing. What that substance is we can not define any farther than to say that it is a thinking substance, or a substance that is capable of reflection and consciousness, part of the properties of the soul are intelligent exertions or agency, but it is probable that we shall be able to inve tigate but a partial knowledge of its properties. That immortality is an essential property of it, is the question under consideration, a question of more importance to us than any or all others, this we will therefore particulary attend to, but as this subject has been largely discussed in the fourth Chapter of the volumn to which this is an appendix, we shall indeavour to omit such arguments as are therein contained, and add some that are there omitted.

As the soul is a moral being we must rely on moral reasonings for the investigation of its eternalization; for neither mathematical nor what we call sensible demonstration (which is predicated on the senses) can extend to it, for by the mere perception of our senses we have no conception of a spiritual or conscious being, but are apprized of such an existence merely from a consciousness of it, nor has our mathematical computations or calculations, which are so essential to astronomical knowledge, and many other parts of science, any thing to do in this investigation but such clear and unexceptionable sort of demonstration, is calculated for the discovery of the existence, magnitude, distance, number, quantity, diamiter, and movements of external objects, as those of our solar System, or any other that come within the description of number, admeasurement, quantity and the like. so that when we reason on the immortality of the soul, and find that we are destitute of those kind of proofs for the reality of it, that are so certain, curious and useful to us in most of the concerns and vicissitudes of life, we are apt to be more or less nonplussed, and wonder that Divine providence has not given us as full and certain a demonstration of our immortality as of external and sensible Objects, not considering that if the soul had been an object of sense, it would have been material and consequently mortal with the body, and not capable of surviveing it. Hence we infer, that we are too apt to demand of providence such kind of demonstration for our immortality as is utterly inconsistent with it. The imperceptibleness of the soul to the organs of sense, in stead of being considered as militating against its end ess continuance in being, should rather be adjudged in favour of it, it is not flesh and blood and therefore may survive death, though it must have existed of substance or it could not have been united with the body or capable of a survival of it at death as we have before argued. If we duly consider this matter we may be satisfied that God could not have given us a greater or more certain evidence of our immortality than he has done. Admitting the reality of it to take place in future, and to continue to be taking place for ever, or without end, yet it would be impossible for us in this stage of being, to conceive how such beings as unbodied human souls could exist, and be conversible after the dissoluiion of their bodies. This is a species of knowledge which in nature is not attainable until our premised progressive future State of being and action in the Order of intelligent existence takes place, for admitting the reality of such a state, how could we conceive of the manner of it, till the

be vain for me to attempt to write the history of the subsequent operations of the Army of the Potomac; yet, to do all this, would be necessary to do full justice to our late commanding General. Let me sum them briefly up by saying that the operations of the remainder of the year of which I have been speaking, though important, were indecisive, both the Army of the Potomac and that of Northern Virginia being reduced, by heavy drafts made upon them, to reinforce the movements now taking place in the West.

The succeeding Spring witnessed the great change, by which our Armies came under one head, by the appointment of General Grant, as Lieutenant-general, who was to command in the field and not from the Bureau—of which latter style of commanding we had, indeed, had enough—and to whose splendid exertions and unflinching determination we owed, under God, our final triumph. Recognizing, fully, that the pinch of the contest was between this Army and that which had, so long, held the lines of the rebel capital, and that other operations, however important, were secondary and subsidiary, only, the proper place to direct the movements of all seemed to him to be from this; and his Head-quarters were fixed near those of our commanding-General. The near presence of an officer of higher rank, with him, undoubtedly rendered General Meade's position one of some delicacy; yet it cost him no difficulty to meet all its exigencies. While the responsibility for the great movements to be made rested with the Lieutenant-general, their tactical execution, so far as this Army was concerned, devolved upon him, and the immediate command was always his; and his duties were so executed, I hazard nothing in saying, as to command, from General Grant, a respect and esteem which continued to the day of his death. In the long series of battles which now commenced, General Meade's splendid abilities, as a tactician, his firmness and judgment, his devotion to his troops, were every where conspicuous, at the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, lavish of their dead; and, in every conflict, up to the last, when, though the malarial fever that raged within his veins did not permit him to sit on his horse, he still directed the Army of the Potomac, in its stern pressure upon the encompassed and beleaguered Lee. To the great and high idea of duty which he expressed, in taking command of the Army, he was faithful, to the close of its existence; and the succeeding years, which witnessed his command in the Southern States, attest that the moderation and firmness, the humanity and love of justice, which were essential attributes of his character, make his civil life as honorable as his military career was splendid.

Comrades, the Army which he commanded so long, has passed away. No more shall its bugles break the sweet stillness of the morning air, as, with their reveille, they salute the coming day; no more shall the falling night hear the rolling tattoo of its drums: its tents are struck; and its cannon have thundered their last notes of defiance and of victory. Each year, we, who were its survivors, assemble in sadly diminishing numbers, as the remorseless artillery of time hurls its fatal missiles into our ranks, until, shortly, a few old men only shall gather together and strive, with feeble voices, to raise the thundering battle-cheer with which we once answered the rebel yells, to sink, themselves, soon after, under the common lot. How fast the coming generations rise to push us from our places, when you remember all whom we have lost, even since the War, I do not need to remind you. Yet, as generation after generation shall come, in their long succession—while the great flag that it bore at the head of its marching columns, waves over a free and united people—it will be remembered that, in its day and generation, and in its time and place, the Army of the Potomac did, for liberty and law, for the Constitution and the Union, deeds worthy of immortal honor. And he that was its leader, on so many a hot and bloody day and on so many a well-contested field—we leave him to his long repose, to his pure, unsullied, and well-earned fame, in the full confidence that, while a Christian gentleman, a wise and true soldier, a lofty patriot, is honored, he will not be forgotten:

"Mild in manner, fair in favor,
"Kind in temper, fierce in fight—
"Warrior, nobler, gentler, braver,
"Never will behold the light."

IV.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*—Continued from Volume I., Page 330.

By Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash-college, Indiana.

The New York city of 1784 was a great city, in the esteem of people then living; and Doctor Cutler was evidently not a little impressed by its grandeur. It will repay us to glean a few facts, from various sources, to aid in reproducing it, as it appeared to the traveler whose diary we are using so freely.

At that time, it numbered about twenty-thousand people, but was rapidly growing. In 1766, when the Common Council gave the Presbyter-

ians the lot on which to build the "Briek "Church," it was called "in *the Fields*," to indieate that it was in a section but little built up. The City-hall, on which the people prided themselves, was in Wall-street; and the ehurehes were all below the present Park. The *Map of the City of New York, surveyed by John Hills, 1782*, shows that the eity then extended from the Battery but little above the site of the present City-hall—not higher than the old Hospital, or Duane-street, on the North-river side, and, perhaps, Ferry and Pearl, or, at farthest, Roosevelt-street, on the East-river side, with a few bloeks farther East. The map indieates some buildings on the Bowery, near its junetion with Chatham-street. Along either river, are the signs of "Fortifications made by the British" and "extended by the Americans." The interior of the island eontained brooks, swamps, hills, fresh-water-ponds, farms, forests, orehards, and common eonntry-roads. There was not a sign of the Amerieau Metropolis above Leonard-street. The buildings which then graced the town, were very plain, as eompared with the modern palaces, for business, which now line every thoroughfare and avenue. The City-hall, which is deseribed by Doetor Cutler, was a small affair, in all respeets, as compared with its suecessor. And so with the ehurehes and other edifiees. In its streets, lamps, and everything, it was a plain eity; whilst, in size, it was not, then, as large or fine as Lowell, or Columbus, or Indianapolis. And so with its shipping—how trifling it appears, in comparison with the marine that now seeks freight in that great harbor. It would be interesting to go into details; but we have not the spaee for more than a few. All the foreign vessels that entered that port, in a year, at the time mentioned, did not exeeed six hundred; and the "eoast-wise" vessels not twice that sum. In 1795, there were only nine hundred and forty-one foreign vessels, a sum that astounded President Dwight, who said, "the "number has been constantly inereasing, and, "in all probability, will eontinue to increase, "through eenturies to come." As for the means of travel, they were scarcely better, in 1787, than they were, before the Revolution, when Mr. Franklin said, with evident pride, "In *Summer-* "time, the passages are frequently performed "in a week, from Charleston to Philadelphia "and New York; and, from Rhode Island to "New York, through the Sound, in two or "three days; and, from New York to Phila- "delphia, by water and land, in two days, by "stage-boats and wheel-earriages, that set out "every other day!"

It was a mere town whieh our traveler was for the first time visiting; and these preliminary statements will add a relish to the deseriptions whieh he gives of places, people, and eustoms in New York.

"*Friday, July 6.* This morning delivered "most of my introductory letters to members of "Congress. Prepared my papers for making "applieation to Congress, for the purehase of "lands in the Western eountry, for the Ohio "Company. At 11 o'clock, I was introdueed "to a number of members on the floor of Con- "gress-ehamber, in the City-hall, by Col. Car- "rington, member from Virginia. Delivered "my petition for purchasing lands, for the Ohio "Company, and proposed terms and eonditions "of purchase. A Committee was appointed, "on terms of negotiation, and report to Con- "gress. Dined with Mr. *Dane*. He and Mr. "Milliken, Comptroller of the Board of Treas- "ury, have hired a house in Broadway; and "live in a family state, with only two servants. "Spent the evening with several members of "Congress.

"*July 7.* Paid my respects this morning to "Doctor Holton and several other gentlemen; "was introduced, by Dr. Ewing and Mr. Ritten- "house, to Mr. Hutchings, Geographer of the "United States. Dined with Gen. Knox; intro- "duced to his lady and a French nobleman, "the Marquis Lotbinière, at dinner; to several "other gentleman, who dined with us. Mrs. "Knox is very gross; but her manners are easy "and graeeful. She is sociable and would be "very agreeable were it not for her affected "singularity, in dressing her hair. She seems "to mimie a military stylc, whieh, to me, is "disgusting, in a female. Her hair, in front, "is craped at least a foot high, mueh in the "form of a ehurn, bottom upwards, and top- "ped off with a wire skeleton, in the same "form, covered with blaek ganze, whieh hangs "in streamers down to her baek. Her hair, be- "hind, is in a large braid turned up and con- "fined with a monstrous, erooked comb. She "reminded me of the monstrous eap worn by the "Marqnis La Fayette's valet, commonly ealled, "on that aeeount, the 'Marqnis's Devil.' No "person attraeted my attention, at the table, so "mueh as the Marquis Lotbinière, not on ae- "eount of his good sense, for, if it had not "been for his title, I should have thought him "two-thirds of a fool.

"Waited on the Rev. Dr. Rogers; and drank "tea in eompany with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Wither- "spoon, and several other clergymen. The "Doctor urged me, exceedingly, to preach for "him, at least part of the day, on Sunday; "but, as the two Presidents were in town and "I had just come off a long journey, I prevail- "ed on him to excuse me. In the evening, "called on Dr. Crosby, in company with Mr. "Hazzard. Dr. Crosby is Professor of Medi-

"cine in the University in this city. He is "much of a gentleman and received me polite-"ly."

The famous "Brick Church," which occupied, for three-fourths and more of a century, the spot on which the "*Times* Building" now is, must always be an interesting name to the lover of Revolutionary history. During the several years the city of New York was occupied by the British troops, they seemed to cherish a special spite against both the Presbyterian and the Dutch churches. The old Wall-street congregation had colonized, or, rather, in 1766, had built a second edifice, to accomodate the overflowing congregation, opening it for worship, in 1768. It was regarded as one of the finest churches in the city; and Doctor Spring, in his first Memorial Discourse, thus describes the treatment both churches received from the enemy: "During the War," says Doctor Spring, "these "two Presbyterian churches were the objects of "the special vengeance and indignity of the "enemy. The church in Wall-street was con-"verted into barracks, and the Brick-church "into a hospital; defaced and stripped of their "interior and left in ruins; and the parsonage-"house burned to the ground. On the return "of Peace, and while these edifices were being "repaired, the congregations statedly worship-"ped in St. George's and St. Paul's, through "the unsolicited and generous courtesy of the "Vestry of Trinity-church. After having been "repaired, at great expense, the Brick-church "was re-opened, in June, 1784."—SPRING's *Old and New Church*, 7.

From the sermon of the Rev. Doctor Livingston, preached at the re-opening of the "Mid-"dle Dutch-church," in Nassau-street—now the city Post-office—on the fourth of July, 1790, we learn of "the wanton cruelty of those who de-"stroyed this temple and the various indignities "which have been perpetrated. It would be "easy to mention facts which would chill your "blood! A recollection of the groans of dy-"ing prisoners, which pierced this ceiling, or "the sacrilegious sports and rough feats of "horsemanship, exhibited within these walls, "might raise sentiments, in your mind, that "would, perhaps, not harmonize with those "religious affections which I wish, at present, "to promote and, always, to cherish." * * * "Seven years are not elapsed since we returned "to this city, in peace. And lo! in less than "seven years, two ruined churches have by us "been repaired." The enemy actually stole, and carried to England, the pulpit of the North Dutch-church, where it was afterward discovered, in a country church, by a gentleman who had known it in New York.—DE WITT's *Discourse*, *41*, *79*, *81*.

It is interesting to gather up these incidental allusions to the condition of New York city, as it was since its evacuation by the enemy. The churches, ruined by the enemy, were not all restored; but business was gradually reviving, so that, when Doctor Cutler spent some Sabbaths in the city, he found churches that excited his admiration. Among these, he mentions two; and having premised so much, we recur to the Diary.

"*Sunday*, *July 8*. Attended church, this "morning, at the New Brick Presbyterian-"church. The house is large and elegant. The "carvings, within, are rather plain but very "neat, and produce a fine effect upon the eye. "Dr. Ewing—Provost of the University of "Philadelphia—preached a very pretty ser-"mon, on the advantages and excellencies of "the Christian religion. The congregation ap-"peared remarkably neat and rich, in their "dress, but not gay. The house was very full; "and the audience attentive. I was particularly "pleased with the singing. When the Psalm "is read, the Chorister rises and sings the first "line: he is then joined, in the second line, by "the whole congregation. Men, women, and "children all seemed to sing, without excep-"tion. The airs of the tunes are sprightly, "though not quick. The singing, notwith-"standing it was performed by such a mixed "multitude, was soft, musical, and solemn; "and the time well preserved. There is an "orchestra, but no organ. The public service "was introduced by a short prayer, reading the "scriptures, and then singing; but, instead of "singing before sermon, they sing, in the morn-"ing as well as the afternoon, after the last "prayer. As soon as the last singing is ended, "the Wardens go out from their large round "pew, with each a large pewter platter in his "hand, each taking a tier of pews and walk-"ing down the aisles. Every person, great and "small, puts into the platter one copper, and "no more. The contribution is made through "the whole congregation, in less than three "minutes.

"I was struck, this morning, with a custom "in this city which I had never heard of, be-"fore, in any part of the world. I observed, "as I was going to church, six men walking, "two and two, towards the church, with very "long white sashes which appeared to be made "of white Holland, the whole width and two "or three yards in length. They were placed "over their right shoulders and tied under their "left arms, in a very large bow, with several "yards of ribbon. On the top of their should-"ers, a large rose, of white ribbon, was placed "upon the sash. As I came up to the yard of "the church, Dr. Rogers and Dr. Ewing were

"just before me, going into church, both in "their black gowns; but Dr. Rogers, with a "large white sash, like those of the six men, "only that the bow and rose of ribbon were "black. These sashes, I was informed, were "given, the last week, at a funeral: they are "worn by the Minister and bearers to the "grave; and are always worn, by them, the "next Sunday, and the bearers always walk, to "and from church, together. To give these "sashes, is a general custom, at the funerals of "persons of any note."

In the evening, Doctor Cutler heard a celebrity preach, in the Brick-church—Doctor John Witherspoon; who was elected President of the College of New Jersey, in 1768, and had, the same year, entered upon the discharge of his duties. His learning, originality, and good sense—the whole flavored with an irrepressible wit—made him the most popular College-President of his day; and, even yet, there linger, about the venerable edifice and grounds of Nassau-hall, anecdotes and sayings of his, which excite the mirth and admiration of young men, almost as much as they did, a hundred years ago. As soon as he came to this country, he espoused the cause of the patriots; and, both by pen and speech, promoted resistance against the encroachments of the Parliament and King of Great Britain. He is described as a florid, raw-boned, angular Scotchman; with a strong brogue; with no grace of manner; but quite abrupt. He was greatly admired; and it is a somewhat singular coincidence that, after the lapse of a century, a second celebrated Scotch scholar and divine should be called to the Presidency of Nassau-hall. Doctor Mc Cosh, in personal appearance and manners, must be quite in contrast with his illustrious predecessor.

"Attended Lecture (in the evening) at Dr. "Roger's New Brick Presbyterian Church. "Full congregation. Dr. Witherspoon, Presi-"dent of New Jersey College, preached. He is "an intolerably homely old Scotchman; and "speaks the true dialect of his country, except "that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is "a bad speaker; has no oratory; and had no "notes before him. His subject was *Hypocrisy*. "But, notwithstanding the dryness of his sub-"ject, the badness of his delivery—which re-"quired the closest attention to follow him—"yet, the correctness of his style, the arrange-"ment of his matter, and the many new ideas "that he suggested, rendered his sermon very "entertaining. The attention of the congrega-"tion strongly marked their regard to good "sense and clear reasoning, rather than mere "show of oratory and declamation. Spent the "remainder of the evening with Mr. Hazzard."

Before leaving the Brick-church, which was one of the celebrated spots of New York, we will anticipate the record of Doctor Cutler's Diary of Monday, the ninth of July, in order to get a look at the most popular preacher of the city, the senior Pastor of that church: "*July 9th.* Dined with Dr. Rogers, in com-"pany with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. "Mc Whorter, of Newark, Mr. Wilson—col-"league with Dr. Rogers—and two other clergy-"men, from the southward, whose names I do "not recollect. It seemed like a Ministers' meet-"ing. They appeared to be much of gentle-"men; and I must do them justice to say I was "treated with particular marks of attention, "notwithstanding my being a New England "man. Dr. Rogers is certainly the most accom-"plished gentleman, for a clergyman, not even "to except Dr. Cooper" [*of Boston*] "that I "have ever been acquainted with. He lives in "an elegant style; and entertains company as "genteelly as the first gentlemen in the city. "This he may well do, for his salary is seven "hundred and fifty pounds a year, and his per-"quisites upwards of two hundred pounds "more. Mr. Wilson is a young Scotchman, and "colleague with Dr. Rogers. They have two "distinct congregations; but they alternately "preach in each house—the same sermons they "preach in the forenoon, they always preach in "the afternoon, by exchanging houses. The "churches which belong to the two houses are "but one corporate body; although they com-"mune separately.

"It was with reluctance I took my leave "of this agreeable and sociable company of "clergymen; but my business rendered it nec-"essary."

Some weeks later, our tourist heard and described Doctor Rogers; and we anticipate his description: "*Sunday, July 22.* Attended "public worship, in the morning, at the old "Brick, in Wall-sreet. Dr. Rogers preached. "He makes no use of notes; but he arranged "his subject very well. Gave us a very pretty "sermon on the Lord's Prayer. His address is "easy, soft, and engaging. No display of ora-"tory. His style was pure, sentimental, and "and nervous; but plain and familiar. He "made me often think of *Dr. Cooper*. I dined "with Mr. Hazzard, Post-Master General. In "the afternoon, attended at the same meeting. "Mr. Wilson preached. He uses no notes; *nor* "*are they much used by our clergy in the city.* "His subject was Envy. He was sufficiently "methodical, but is not a good speaker; nor was "there anything extraordinary in his sermon. "It was rather a harangue; but he was very "catholic in his sentiments. In the evening, "attended a lecture at the Old Dutch-church.

"The sermon was delivered in Dutch, with a "great deal of vehemence and pathos; but "whether it was good or bad I know not."

[To be Continued.]

V.—*AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.*—

Continued from Volume I., Page 333.

By Ethan Allen, Esqr.

Section III.

Of the consciousness of the agency and entity of the human soul, and of the insufficiency of its external sensations, to discover the existence and actions of moral beings.

Our compound nature existing of sensation and reflection, is in many respects mysterious to us, nor is it at all surprising, that the agency as well as nature of such creatures as we are, (partly spiritual and partly animal,) should more or less involve our speculations thereon in doubt, and perplexity. We ough to analyse and critically distinguish, between the knowlege that we immediately have from our own consciousness, and that which we premise to have acquired by the progress of reasoning, as the former is certain and true, and the latter may be true or false, according as we may be supposed to reason right or wrong. Strictly speaking we can not reason wrong, for such part of the progress as may terminate in a wrong conclusion, is deception and not reasoning, hence we infer, that reasoning is always right, but as we all pretend to reason in our disquisition of things whether we do or not, and likewise set up for Judges of it, and as every one is Orthodox to himself, we have no standard whereby to decide the authenticity of our reasonings, but individuals must Judge for themselves. some writers have defined reasoning, to be right reasoning, but this every one will premise his reasoning to be, whether right or wrong, so that we gain nothing by using the word right before the word reason, as every one supposes his reasoning to be right, till he is convinced of the contrary, and since all (real) reasoning is right, right reason is the same as reason, and it is our business to distinguish it from error, and not to call that reason which is not so: but the conscious knowledge that we have of the existence and agency of our own souls we do not acquire by (a progress of) reasoning, and therefore are not lyable to be mistaken or deceived therein, as in argumentative investigations which will be farther considered in its order.

The Author of nature has intuitively and universally impressed on our minds; a conscious knowledge of our agency (or power of action,) in all cases wherein it is attended with the consequences of moral good and evil. This consciousness of agency of which our minds are intuitively certain, is not derived from the deductions of reasoning, all ranks and degrees of mankind are equally sure of the reality of it, a sense of liberty of action is inherent in the soul, and originated with it, and is essential to it, and we are as conscious of it, as of the existence of the soul, since it is not from sensation or reasoning, that we are apprized of the one or the other, but have our evidence of both merely from our consciousness thereof.

God has not made it requisite that we should become philosophers or understand science, in order to know that we are (free) agents, in matters that respect the morality or imorality of our actions, for there are comparitively but few of our species who have arrived to any considerable degree in sciantifical knowledge: and as the Divine Legeslator has promulgated his Law to every of us who understand moral good and evil, he has also co-extensively given us a consciousness that we are (free) agents, which together with the knowledge of right and wrong, makes us accoutable creatures, for as a sense of accountableness pre-supposes the knowledge of moral good and evil, it also pre-supposes a power or liberty of agency, since the mere understanding of right and wrong, without the power of agency therein, could lay us under no moral obligation to conform to the good and refuse the evil, for that the mere knowledge of moral fitness in us, abstractly considered from a power, or an ability of conformity thereto in life and action, could not render us amenable either to God, society, or to ourselves, since our accountableness originates as much from our power of agency, as from our knowledge of the difference between moral good and evil. Hence we infer, that it is the understanding together with the ability of a conformity to moral rectitude, that makes us probationary and accountable creatures. And it matters not whether we are wise enough fully to investigate the subject of our agency; or the nature and manner of the souls exertion of itself, since we are conscious of intelligent being and of agency, from whence results all our mental happiness and misery. Was it necessary in Order to our being free and consequently accountable beings, that we should comprehend the essence, spring, and manner of our liberty, or how agency is extended in all and every respect, and be able to solve all questions concerning it, our liberty in consequence thereof would be foreclosed, together with our accountability, since none of

our race are wise enough, fully and perfectly to understand all this. Those who are the greatest adepts in the science of anatomy, have not discovered every minute part of the (animal) machenery of the human body, or the respective usefulness of such parts as they have discovered, to the whole, nor has the united wisdom of mankind investigated the intrinsic reason, or natural cause of motion in the human body, or how it is that we move a hand or finger. We know from experience that our hands & feet obey our volitions, but how volition operates on an animal machine we know not, yet should any one deny the reality of such motion or exertion he would be deemed a mad man, since motion is an Object of sense, in which all uniformty agree: nor are we less certain of the reality of our souls, than of our bodies, nor of our agency than of either of the other positions. The body and its motions are pereceived by the senses, and the soul, and its agency by its consciousness, and we may as well dispute against the reality of the external motion or action of the hand, because we cannot comprehend it, as against the agency or action of the soul, because we cannot comprehend it. Furthermore, we have the same kind and degree of evidence and no other, of the reality of our agency, as we have of the reality of our souls, the evidence of both resulting merely from an immediate consciousness thereof, and since we have the evidence of the existence of the soul, from its conscious exertions, and in the same exertions, we are likewise conscious that we are (free) agents, we can not therefore be deceived with respect to our agency, any more than with respect to our existence, which is bringing the argument to a decision in favour of human agency, for if we are as certain of it as of existence, we may venture to conclude our selves to be spontaneously active, for it is too evident to be controverted; that we Obtain both the knowledge of our intellectual existence and agency from the same manner and degree of evidence, or in other words from the same conscious exercise of our minds, nor is it in nature possible for us to have a conscious knowledge of the exercise of our minds, without having at the same time, an intuitive knowledge that the same exercise is free, the consciousness of the one cannot be without the consciousness of the other, for agency or the power of agency, is congenial with intelligence, and in the constitution of human nature, inseperably united to, and connected with it.

We may from our consciousness of intelligent action, infer the existence of the soul, abstractly considered from our agency, since mere action implies being, without considering whether we are necessary or free beings, for that nonenity can not act at all, or be necessary or free as it has no existence, but in agency we are possessed of a two fold consciousness, the one respects merely our actions, and the other the manner of them, since our manner of acting, as well as our actions themselves, are comprized in our consciousness of them, and it is a consciousness of the manner of our acting, which inform us that we are free agents, as a mere consciousness of action, without a consciousness of the manner of them, could not inform us whether we acted spontaneonsly or was acted upon by some other being or cause, and since every one by consulting his own consciousness will find that he has a power of agency, or that this is the manner of his acting, we need not pry into science for the discovery of our (free) agency.

Furthermore, we may deduce the evidence of the certainty of our intelligent being, as well from our consciousness of liberty, as that of action abstracted from it, for that mere liberty or a power to act implies being, or an agent in whom it inheres or resides. Liberty therefore includes an Idea of existence, as it exhibits to us a consciousness of the manner of the exertion of the soul, and as the manner of those exertions implies exertion it self, and exertion implies being, therefore our consciousness of the power of spontaneous agency evinces our existence; as it makes known to us the intrinsic mode or manner of our actions, and as the mode of those actions imply their existence, and their existence imply the existence of the soul, consequently our cousciousness of liberty by tracing it to action, and from action to the soul, evinces its existence.

From what has been already argued on this subject it follows, that we have as great a certainty of our (free) agency, as we have of our intellectual being, and are as certain of that as we are that we have a sensitive body, for the acts of our senses are not more certain, than our consciousness of intelligent action, since our consciousness extends both to sensation and reflection, without which we could have no knowledge of either.

Having briefly considered the nature and force of the evidence of our power of agency, arising merely from our consciousness thereof, which amounts to an intuitive certainty of it, we proceed to the consideration of our bodies and of external things in general. An accurate examination into our own constitution will discover, that our organized senses can not perceive, nor can we through their medium, have any conception of the soul or of its actions or operations, for that the soul and its actions, and the manner of its actions, which is the same as the soul and its agency, (as agency implies not only action but the manner of action,) are altogether

other, we must be sure that the analogy is Just, or that it agrees with the final issue of the matter or question in dispute, for if it does not we loose sight of, or are diverted from the point at Issue, by deducing our conclusion from things, arguments, and other prior inferences which are dissimular, and unlke the thing, or subject, we are indeavouring to investigate, and which are imperninent to the question under consideration; as in the instance of inferring, the necessary and free agency of man, from the nccessary and free agency of God in his providence; in which case there is no Just comparison, and consequently no conclusion to be deduced from the Divine agency, which will agree to that of the human, as before argued.

To conclude that one thing is true, because another thing is so, makes such a conclusion wholly dependent on the analogy, that the one thing has to the other for its truth. If the analogical comparisou of things, or arguments agree, the comparison is Just, but if they disagree it is unjust. The agreement of the analogy with the subject, point, or thing to be investigated, is therefore of the utmost importance, in all analogical reasonings, since the conclusion to be drawn thereform, is altogether predicated on the agreement, or disagreement between the analogy, and the point in question to be decided. Therefore as little usc as possible, should be made of analogy in our reasonings: since in many cases it is as abstruce, as the thing to be investigated, and stands as much in need of other analogy, to illusterate the formmer, as to illusterate the subject matter of inquiry, in which cases they are useless, or worse than indifferent.

We should likewise be very accurate, in our analogical comparisons of things, which agrce but in part, and disagree in part, the more so, as the degrees of agreement and disagreement, are almost or quite innumerable, and in many cases inconceivable to us, as the degrees of the simularity of things, cither cogitative or incogitative, are to us in their extent incomprehensible. But in such of the comparitive Idcas of things, that come within our understanding, when rightly improved and cultivated, we should be inquisitively careful and nice, in making use of the comparitive Ideas of, or inferences from things, to things, in our argumentations on any subject, doctrine or final conclusion. It is for want of attention to such maxims as these, that we are so much confused in our problematical and religious disquisition of things. Truth is perfectly uniform, and in our progress of its investigation, we must proceed in our ratiocinations with a uniformity of reasoning; and Just comparison of Ideas, so as that our chain of reasonings is Just, which is the same as truth it self, for any error in the progress of investigation, as far as it influences the conclusion, or respective conclusions, in the chain or system of arguments, so far the reaoning is inconclusive or false. the same as an error in mathcmatical calculations, would spoil their conclusion, or respcctivc conclusions.

The natural World, commonly so called, is ruled by irresistable necessity, and every analogy or comparison we bring from thence, to elucidate our agency, disagrees with it, inasmuch as scnsless beings are not, and can not bc capable of volition, design, or agcncy, and consequently as far as such analogies, have a place in our reasonings, on the (nature or) agency of the soul, they confound it, with the mechanism of incogitative beings, and therefore all such analogy is inadmissible in this Iuvestivation

The knowledge that we have of our internal power of agency, may be properly denominated Intuitive; since it is immediately perceived by the mind, without reasoning or inferring one thing from another, In this perception of things we all agree, and therefore cannot be mistaken, or deceived therein, as in the deductions of reasoning, in the scientiphical parts of learning, and consequently we may lay it down for a certain rule, that all our argumentations and conclusions, that militate against the intuitive (or conscious) knowledge, that we have of our spontaneous agency, are so many blunders, mistakes or deceptions of our own makeing, for the intuition of natural conscience, is Gods revelation to us, who cannot, and will not deceive us.

The strong and universal sense, which we intuitively have of our agency, must have established the reality of it, in the minds of mankind beyond all doubt, had not the learned Jargon of the schools, with some sectarians of Eccleciastic's, reasoning from false analogy, in some measure obscured it, and caused more or less dissension.

The uncultivated part of mankind, however obscure and exemp from science, do not distrust their conscious knowledge, this is a privilidge we derive from learned sophestry, in which the ignorant, and barbarous nations do not have a share. They never dreamed, that any necessity attended their actions, but with one consent, suppose them to be spontaneous.

The introduction of arts and sciences, have been attended with their advantages, and disadvantages, the same learning or art, that teaches logical reasoning, teaches sophestry, and the learned have hitherto been able to obtain more welth, and power from the great

mass of the vulgar, by deluding them, than by informing their understandings. Hence arises the numerous sectaries and party disputes, which to a person of good understanding, are almost equally nonsensical. Probably we are the most selfish, oddest, and cunningest medley of beings, of our size, in the universe. However to compleat the general schale of being, it seems to have been requisite, that the link of being called man, must have been, and since under the Divine government, we have a positive existence, we can not ultimately fail, of being better than not to have been.

Finis.

III.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 29.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

We return to the Diary, under date of "*July 8, Sunday*," to get a look into the social life of New York city.

"I dined at Sir John Temple's. Sir John "was so complaisant as to invite Dr. Holton "and Mr. Dane, which he said he did purpose-"ly on my account, as we were countrymen. "The Hon. Dr. Lee, Hon. Mr. Walton (an Eng-"lishman and a member of the British Parlia-"ment) and Mr. Dawse were the other com-"pany. Sir John is a complete gentleman; "but his deafness renders it painful to con-"verse with him. Lady Temple is certainly "the greatest beauty, notwithstanding her age, "I ever saw. To a well proportioned form, a "perfectly fair skin and completely adjusted "features, is added a soft but majestic air, an "easy and pleasing sociability, a vein of fine "sense, which commands admiration and in-"fuses delight. Her smiles—for she rarely "laughs—could not fail of producing the "softest sensibility in the fiercest savage. Her "dress is exceedingly neat and becoming, but "not gay. She is now a grand-mother; but I "should not suppose her more than twenty-"two. Her real age is forty-four. But my "admiration was still more excited by their "little daughter, Augusta. To me, she ap-"peared a perfect prodigy; she is only six "years of age. She introduces herself with "an easy politeness to every person in the com-"pany; and is never at a loss for a subject of "conversation, and so sensible and pertinent "are all her observations and remarks, that she "never fails of pleasing. She distinguishes "characters with a judgment and precision "which would do honor to mature age. No "lady is more completely mistress of all the "little *etiquette* which adorns a finished educa-"tion. The purity and elegance of her lan-"guage, witty turns, and well-turned sarcasms, "rather diminished pleasure by exciting con-"stant admiration.

"Our dinner was in the English style, plain "but plentiful—the wines excellent, which is a "greater object with Sir John, than his roast "beef or poultry. You cannot please him "more than to praise his *Madeira*, and fre-"quently begging the honor of a glass with "him. The servants are all in livery. The "parlor, drawing-room, and dining-hall are in "the second story, spacious and richly furnish-"ed. The paintings are principally historic "and executed by the greatest masters in Eu-"rope. The parlor is ornamented chiefly with "medals and small busts of principal charac-"ters, now living in Europe, made of plaster "of Paris or white wax. He dines at two, on "Sundays.

"At half past three, Mr. Dawse and I with-"drew from Sir John Temple's dinner-table "and attended church in St. George's Chapel. "This is a magnificent edifice. The tower and "steeple are larger and higher, I believe, than "any other in America. The inside of the "church is very large, having some paintings "and carvings. We sat in the Governor's pew, "which is the same, here, as in the Presbyterian "Church, being one on each side of the meet-"ing-house. Dr. Beach read prayers, and Dr. "Moore preached an elegant sermon, on benevo-"lence. The church was exceedingly crowded, "and the congregation were richly, but not "splendidly, dressed. In the time of the first "singing, the Wardens visited every pew with "their pewter platters, into which every person, "small and great, put a copper. This seemed "to be killing two birds with one stone; for, "while they were engaged in singing the psalm "(for every body sings) they were as busy "fumbling their pockets for their coppers and "rattling them into the platter."

"*Monday, July 9.* Waited this morning "very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the "fullest information of the Western country, "from Pennsylvania to the Illinois; and *advised "me, by all means, to make our location on the "Muskingum*, which was decidedly, in his opin-"ion, the best part of the whole Western "country.

"Attended the Committee, before Congress "opened, and then spent the remainder of the "forenoon with Mr. Hutchins."

"Attended the Committee in Congress Cham-"ber. Debated the terms, but were so wide

"apart that there appears little prospect of clos-
"ing a contract.

"I had an opportunity of observing, minute-
"ly, the Chamber where the Supreme Councils
"of the nation are held. For, after these de-
"bates were over, the gentlemen of the Com-
"mittee were polite enough to show me every-
"thing curious within these walls. Congress
"Chamber is an apartment in the second story
"of the City Hall. This Hall is a magnificent
"pile of buildings, in Wall Street, at the head
"of Broad Street, near the centre of the City.
"It is more than twice the width of the State
"House, at Boston; but I think not so long.
"The lower story is a walk; at each corner are
"rooms appropriated to the Mayor and Alder-
"men of the City and the City Guards. Be-
"tween the corner rooms, on each side and at
"the ends, it is open, for a cons'derable space,
"supported by pillars. In front, is a flight of
"steps from the street, over which is a two-
"story piazza, with a spacious walk, which
"communicates with Congress Chamber, at the
"East end, and with the Chamber where the
"Mayor and Aldermen hold their Courts, at the
"West end. Congress Chamber is up the east-
"ern stairs; it is nearly square. On the south-
"ern side, the floor is raised several feet, which
"is ascended by steps and enclosed by banisters.
"In the centre, is a large chair, raised still
"higher, lined with red damask silk; and over
"it a curious canopy, fringed with silk, and
"two large flowing damask curtains descending
"from the sides of the canopy to the floor,
"partly furled with silk cords. This is the seat
"of the President of Congress. And the ap-
"pearance at the other end of the Chamber is
"superb. On the floor of the Chamber, at the
"right and left, from the President's chair, are
"two rows of chairs extended to the opposite
"side of the room, with a small bureau-table
"before each chair. The chairs and tables are
"mahogany, richly carved, the arms and bot-
"toms covered with red morocco leather. On
"each side of the President's chair, within the
"banisters, are chairs and tables, similar to
"those of the members, for the use of the Sec-
"retary and his clerks. In the midst of the
"floor, is a vacant space, in form of a broad
"aisle. The curtains of the windows are red
"damask, richly ornamented with fringes. At
"the East end is a portrait of General Washing-
"ton, at full length, well executed. At the
"opposite end are some of the portraits of
"General Officers that fell in the late war. On
"the side opposite the President, are the por-
"traits of the King and Queen of France, as
"large as life. These were drawn by the King's
"own portrait-painter, and presented by His
"Majesty to Congress. The drapery of the pic-
"tures infinitely exceeds anything of the kind I
"ever saw before. They are dressed in their
"robes; and life and animation are imitated to
"perfection. When the damask curtains which
"cover them were drawn, their eyes were fixed
"upon us with a vivacity that bespoke life
"itself; and their majestic countenances seem-
"ed to chastise our insolence in approaching
"them with so little reverence.

"*July 10.* This morning, another conference
"with the Committee. Called on Dr. Crosby.
"Visited, by his invitation, the Columbia College.
"Was introduced to the Governors.

"Dined with Col. Duer, in company with
"Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of
"Treasury, Major Sargent, and several other
"gentlemen. At the table, we were honored
"with the company of Mademoiselle La Touche,
"a French lady of the family of the *Noblesse*,
"and Lady Kitty, the wife of Col. Duer. Lady
"Kitty—for so she is called—was the daughter
"of Lord Starling and inherits the title from
"her father, who had no male heir. She is a
"fine woman, though not a beauty; very soci-
"able; and most accomplished in her manners.
"She performed the honors of the table most
"gracefully; was constantly attended by two
"servants, in livery; and insisted on performing
"the whole herself.

"Col. D. is Secretary of the Board of Treas-
"ury, and lives in the style of a nobleman. He
"had, I presume, not less than fifteen sorts of
"wine, at dinner, besides the most excellent
"bottled cider, porter, and several other kinds
"of strong beer. As *Congress was now engag-*
"*ed in settling the form of Government for the*
"*Federal Territory—the North West—for*
"*which a Bill has been proposed, and a copy*
"*sent to me, with leave to make remarks and*
"*propose amendments, and which I had taken*
"*the liberty to remark upon and propose several*
"*amendments*, I thought this the most favor-
"able opportunity to go to Philadelphia; *ac-*
"*cordingly, after I had returned the Bill, with*
"*my observations*, I set out, at 7 o'clock.

"*July 11.* Arrived at Princeton, N. J.

"*July 12.* Rose, very early, and took a view
"of Princeton. At half past five, I ventured
"to call on Col. *Morgan*, to whom I had a let-
"ter, though I feared I should not find him up.
"He was, however, in his parlor, with his books,
"and received me very politely. He is a farm-
"er, in the strictest sense, and I believe the
"first in America, in the knowledge of agricul-
"ture, and, besides, a literary character. His
"house stands a little back of the College, and
"in a situation which commands a complete
"view of his whole farm, consisting of about
"200 acres.

"Here I saw verified what I had often heard

"observed, that the boundaries of his farm "might easily be distinguished from his neigh- "bor's from its state of cultivation. He gave "me a general history of his improvements and "of the experiments he was then making. His "barn and yard are truly a curiosity. His gar- "den consists of three acres, and is principally "used for making experiments, which appeared "to me to be well judged, and critically attend- "ed to. Here, I saw the Hessian fly, as it is "called, which has done immense injury to "wheat, in our country. Our country is indebt- "ed to this gentleman, for the discoveries he "has made and the information he has given "respecting this insect, in consequence of his "experiments. In his garden, he had Indian "corn growing in long rows from different "kinds of seed, collected from the different "latitudes on this continent, as far North as "the northern parts of Canada, and South as "far as the West Indies. His aviary struck me "with astonishment. On the southern side of "his garden, he had 64 swarms of bees, in a "line, which I judged extended more than fif- "teen rods. He takes the honey when he "pleases, without destroying the bees. I much "regretted the want of time, being determined "to reach Philadelphia, this day. Was obliged "to take my leave, before my curiosity was "half gratified. It was with the utmost diffi- "culty I could prevail on him to excuse my "tarrying any longer, particularly as a son of "his, who was then from home, but every "moment expected, had begun the study of "Botany. He intended to make him a master "of the science. He was very anxious that I "should converse with him, and give him par- "ticular directions for pursuing the study. "Nothing would avail but a promise to call on "him, on my return, and a consent to take his "son under my instruction, if he could find no "person sufficiently versed in the science near "him."

We may simply add, in passing, that this Colonel Morgan was greatly trusted by Congress and General Washington, for his influence with the Indian tribes; and that he was often sent to them, on important business, which he is said to have discharged with great ability and fidelity. It was before his house that the mutineers of the Pennsylvania line, in 1781, had that celebrated interview with General Wayne. His farm adjoined the College-grounds; and he had the good sense and generosity to plant a row of cherry-trees, the entire length of the line, for the exclusive use of the College-students. He afterwards removed to Washington, Pennsylvania, and was there solicited by Colonel Aaron Burr to engage in his treasonable expedition and to induce his four sons, also, to join it. This he peremptorily declined, and is said to have been the first one who gave authentic information, to the Government, of Burr's movements. He or his sons were witnesses on the trial of that notorious man, at Richmond.

"I then called on Dr. Smith, the Vice-Presi- "dent of the College, to whom I had letters. "He is a young gentleman, and lived in an "elegant style, and is the first literary character "in this State. He waited on me to College, "introduced me to the tutors, and showed me "the apartments of the College. The Speaking "Hall is ornamented with several paintings— "particularly of the famous battle in this town, "the next morning after the capture of the "Hessians, at Trenton. It is more than six "feet square, done on canvas, and executed in "a masterly manner, by Mr. Peale of Philadel- "phia. The principal figure is General Wash- "ington, emerging from a thick wood, forming "and advancing, in a regular manner, the Brit- "ish fleeing in confusion, leaving many slain on "the ground; but the pleasure of the scene is "greatly diminished by a view of General Mer- "cer, wallowing in his gore, who was at the "head of the advanced guard, and slain in the "first attack. After viewing this scene, on "canvas, we ascended to the cupola of the Col- "lege, and took a view of the ground itself, on "which the battle was fought, the manner of "the attack, and the several directions in which "the British fled. It was no small gratification "to take so extensive a view of the place where "so important an event in the history of the "American Revolution took place. Here, again, "I feel myself straitened for time, and was "obliged to take my leave of Dr. Smith, who "had showed me the most polite attention, "rather abruptly, but I promised to call on him, "on my return.

"*Trenton*—this town stands in the list of "fame and will be remembered by future ages, "on account of the memorable victory—and, "indeed, the first complete victory—obtained "by the illustrious Washington, over the British "army.

"Made our next stage at Bristol. Dined in "company with the passengers in the stage, "among whom were *Gen. Armstrong* and *Col.* "*Franks*. Gen. Armstrong is a member of "Congress, with whom I had a small acquaint- "ance, at New York; *Franks* was an Aid of "Gen. Arnold, at the time of his desertion "to the British. Both of them high *bucks* and "affected, as I conceived, to hold the New "England States in contempt. They had re- "peatedly touched my Yankee blood, in their "conversation at the table; but I was much on "the reserve, until, after we had dined, some "severe reflections on the conduct of Rhode

"Island and the Insurgency in Massachusetts—"placing the two States in the same point of "light—induced me to observe that 'I had no "'doubt but that the conduct of Rhode Island "'would prove of infinite service to the Union; "'that the insurgency, in Massachusetts, would "'eventually tend to invigorate and establish "'our Government; and that I considered "'the State of Pennsylvania—divided and "'distracted as she *then* was, in her Councils, "'the large County of *Luzerne* on the eve of "'an insurrection—to be in as hazzardous a sit-"'uation as any one on the Continent.' This "instantly brought on a warm *Fracas*, indeed. "The cudgels were taken up, on both sides; "the contest as fierce as if the fate of Empires "depended on the decision. The attention of "the whole company was engaged. My little "companion" [*whom he met at Trenton*] "was "roused; fire sparkled in his eyes; and, like a "faithful *second*, he was determined to support "me. Right or wrong, he would contradict "everything advanced by my antagonists. At "length, victory declared in our favor. Arm-"strong began to make concessions. Franks, "with more reluctance, at length, gave up the "ground. Both acknowledged the New Eng-"land States were entitled to an equal share of "merit with any in the Union, and declared "they had no intention to reflect. We had the "satisfaction to quit the field with an air of "triumph, which my little companion enjoyed "with an high relish; nor could he forget it, "all the way to Philadelphia. But we parted "with our antagonists on terms of perfect good "humor and complaisance. My companion "frequently, afterwards, mentioned the pleasure "it gave him to see Armstrong and Franks '*so* "'*completely taken down*,' as he expressed it, "which led me to conclude he was of the party "opposed to them, in the political quarrels of "Philadelphia.

"Arrived at Philadelphia, my companion con-"ducted me to the 'Indian Queen,' a livery "tavern. Here we exchanged our names; but "I was so unfortunate, in less than ten minutes, "as to lose his name, and cannot recollect it. "He promised to call on me the next morning. "I spent the evening with several members of "the Convention (Federal)."

Doctor Cutler's diary contains so many interesting facts concerning Philadelphia and the noted men who then resided there, that we need not ask the permission of our readers to make some copious extracts.

"*July 13.* The 'Indian Queen' is situated "in Third, between Market and Chestnut-street. "The apartment assigned me was a rather small "but very handsome chamber (No. 9) furnish-"ed with a rich field-bed, bureau with drawers, "a large looking-glass, neat chairs, and other "furniture. Its front was East, and, being in "the third story, afforded a fine prospect towards "the river and the Jersey shore. The servant "that attended me was a young, sprightly, "well-built, black fellow, neatly dressed in a "blue coat, sleeves and cape red, buff waist-"coat and breeches, the bosom of his shirt "ruffled, and his hair powdered. After he had "brought up my baggage, and properly depos-"ited it, he brought two of the latest London "Magazines, and laid them on the table. I or-"dered him to call a barber, furnish me with a "bowl of water for washing, and to have tea on "the table by the time I was dressed. Being "told, while at tea, that a number of the mem-"bers of the Continental Convention (now con-"vened in this city for the purpose of forming a "Federal Constitution) lodged in this house, and "that two of them were from Massachusetts, "after tea, I sent into their Hall, to Mr. Strong, "and requested to speak with him. We had "never been personally acquainted, but had a "hearsay knowledge of each other; and Mr. "Gerry had mentioned to Mr. Strong that he "daily expected me, in consequence of a letter "he had received from Gov. Bowdoin. Mr. "Strong very politely introduced me to Mr. "Gorham, of Charlestown, Mass., Mr. Madison, "and Mr. Mason, and his son, of Virginia, "Gov. Martin, Hon. Hugh Williamson, of "North Carolina, Hon. John Rutledge and Mr. "Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Hamilton of "New York, &c. Spent some hours with Mr. "Strong and Mr. Gorham, after the other gen-"tlemen had retired; they very politely offered "to wait on me to any part of the city. Rose "early, &, with Mr. Strong, called on Mr. "Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome, "and exceedingly amiable. She appears to be "possessed of fine accomplishments. I should "suppose her age not more than seventeen, & "believe he must be turned of fifty-five. I was "surprised to find how early ladies in Philadel-"phia rise in the morning; and to see them at "breakfast, at half-past five, when, in Boston, "they can hardly see a breakfast-table at nine "o'clock, without falling into hysterics. I ob-"served to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed an early "hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she "always rose early, and found it conducive to "her health. She was inured to it, from her "childhood, in New York; and that it was the "practice of the best families, in Philadelphia. "Mr. Gerry had received a letter from Gov. "Bowdoin, requesting him to wait on me to Dr. "Franklin's, in person, when I arrived in the "city. Although I had several introductory "letters to the Dr., yet I wished for the com-"pany of some gentleman of my acquaintance,

"when I paid my respects to that venerable "Sage. Mr. Gerry expressed a great deal of "satisfaction, in having the opportunity of in- "troducing me to the Dr.; and supposed the "best time would be about five in the afternoon, "which was agreed on. Mr. Strong went with "me, after breakfast, to Dr. Morgan's, to whom "I had letters from Dr. Warren, of Boston, "and from his brother, at Princeton. He "received me with politeness, and went with "us to Dr. Clarkson's, when he and Mr. Strong "left me.

"Dr. Clarkson is one of those fine, accom- "plished, benevolent characters which inspire the "most exalted ideas of human nature. I found "him to fully answer the character I had receiv- "ed of him. My letters to him were from his "much-esteemed friend, Mr. Belknap and his "brother-in-law, Mr. Hazzard. When he had "read my letters, he received me, not merely in "the common formalities of politeness, but "with the warm affection and friendship of an "intimate acquaintance that had been long "absent. When he found my stay in the city "must be very short, he dismissed all his busi- "ness; and sent his servant to inform his "patients that it was not probable he should be "able to see them on that day or the next. If "any thing special occurred, he must be particu- "larly informed; and devoted himself, entirely, "to wait on me. I was formally introduced to "his son, who had just before received Episco- "pal ordination from Bishop White, of this "State, and is about to be settled in one of the "churches of this city, and to his three little "daughters. Mrs. Clarkson was confined, up- "stairs, by a nervous illness of long standing, "which prevented my seeing her. After engag- "ing me to dine with him, he ordered his "Phæton to be harnessed, that we might take a "general view of the city, &c. In this tour, I "delivered most of my introductory letters; "but had only time to deliver them, as the Dr. "waited for me, in his carriage, as my stay "would be very short, was obliged to decline all "their invitations. We returned to the Dr's "house, about twelve, having rode, by the Dr's "computation, twenty miles. His horses were "very large and fine; and he had as much as "he could well do to rein them in.

"After refreshing ourselves we took a ramble, "on foot; called on Dr. Rush, whom we fortu- "nately found at home. The Dr. is the com "plete gentleman, and one of the first literary "characters in America. After reading my let- "ters and the usual ceremony, he expressed "much satisfaction in having an opportunity to "see me and told me had, for some time, wish- "ed for a correspondence. He has thanked "me, very particularly, for my botanical paper, "in the *Memoirs of the American Academy;* "and said that Dr. Franklin and he had desired "the printers of the *Columbian Magazine* to "publish the extracts from it, which had ap- "peared in that publication. He approved of "my plan and appeared anxious that I should "pursue it. He observed that they were endeav- "ouring to raise a fund for establishing a Botan- "ical Garden in that city; and assured me that "I was the only person that had been in nomina- "tion to take the superintendency and give the "Botanical Lectures to the students, in the Uni- "versity. This led me to inquire after Mr. Cox, "the present Professor of Botany, in the Uni- "versity, and observed that I was not so fortu- "nate as to have a letter to him but wished the "favor of being introduced, as I understood he "had studied under the immediate instructions "of the great Linneas. Both of the gentlemen "readily offered to introduce me; but observed "that they believed it would afford me very "little satisfaction; that he did not pretend to "give lectures; had never attended to the prac- "tical part; and, perhaps, was not a very com- "plete master of the theory. Finding that "they seemed inclined to keep their Botanist "out of sight, I did not insist on seeing him. "Dr. Rush observed that Mr. Bartram had "much more botanical knowledge than Cox, "and employed much of his time in the exam- "ination of plants. He imagined that I should "be pleased with him; & wished I could find "time to visit him. Dr. Clarkson proposed a "ride, early the next morning, to Bartram's "seat, two miles beyond the Schuylkill. The "next day was the time for the formal visit of "Dr. Rush to the Hospital. He invited me to "attend the visitation, with him. I then conclud- "ed to go out to Bartram's, with Dr. Clarkson, "at six; and we were to meet Dr. Rush at the "Hospital, at 11 o'clock, and engaged to dine "with him. Returned to Dr. Clarkson's and "dined.

"Immediately after dinner, we called on Mr. "*Peale*, to see his collections of paintings and "natural curiosities. We were conducted into "a room by a boy, who told us Mr. P. would "wait on us in a minute or two. He desired us, "however, to walk into the room where the "curiosities were; and showed us a long narrow "entry that led into the room. I observed, "through a glass window, at my right hand, a "gentleman, close to me, standing with a pencil "in one hand and a small sheet of ivory in the "other; and his eyes directed to the opposite "side of the room, as though he was taking "some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson "did not see this man, till he stepped into "the room; but instantly turned about, and "came back, saying, 'Mr. Peale is very busy,

"'taking the picture of something, with his "'pencil. We will step back, into the other "'room, till he is at leisure.' We returned, "through the entry; but, as we entered the "room, we met Mr. Peale, coming to us. The "Doctor started back, in astonishment, and cried "out, 'Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should "'get out of the other room to meet us here?' "Mr. Peale smiled and said, 'I have not been "'in the other room, for some time.' 'No?' "said Dr. Clarkson, 'Did not I see you, there, "'this moment, with your pencil and ivory?' "'Why do you think you did?' asked Peale. "'Why do I think I did?' replied Dr. Clarkson; "'I saw you there, if I ever saw you in my "'life.' 'Well,' says Peale, 'let us go and "'see.'

"When we returned, we found the man "standing, as before. It was a piece of wax-"work, which Mr. Peale had just finished, in "which he had taken a likeness of himself.

"The walls of the room are covered with "paintings—both portraits and historic. Under "a small gallery, his natural curiosities are "arranged, in a most romantic and amusing "manner. There was a mound of earth, con-"siderably raised, and covered with green turf, "from which a number of trees ascended and "branched out, in different directions. On the "declivity of this mound, was a small thicket, "and, just below it, an artificial pond; on the "other side, a number of large and small rocks, "of different kinds, collected from different "parts of the earth. At the foot of the mound, "were holes dug and the earth thrown up to "show the different kinds of clay, ocher, coal, "marl, &c., which he had collected, from vari-"ous parts—also ores and minerals. Around "the pond, was a beach, on which were exhibit-"ed a fine assortment of shells, turtles, frogs, "toads, lizzards, water-snakes, &c. In the "pond, a collection of fish, with their skins "stuffed—water-fowl, such as geese, ducks, "cranes, herons, &c., all having the appearance "of life, for their skins were admirably pre-"served: on the mound were such birds as "commonly walk on the ground, as the ground-"partridge and heathhen, also wild animals, as "the bear, dear, leopard, tiger, wild-cat, fox, "raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, &c. In the thickets "and among the rocks, land-snakes, rattle-"snakes, of an enormous size, black & a num-"ber of other snakes. The trees were loaded "with birds from almost every species in Amer-"ica & many exoties. Mr. Peale's animals re-"minded me of Noah's ark, into which was "received every kind of creeping thing, in "which there was life. But I can hardly con-"ceive that even Noah could have boasted a "better collection. Mr. Peale was very com-"plaisant, and gave us every information we "desired. He requested me to favor him with "any of the animals and fossils from this part "of America, not already in his museum, which "it might be in my power to collect.

"From Mr. Peale's went to the State House; "from there to the Mall; and next a visit to "the University. Called at Dr. Ewing's, the "Provost of the University, who is absent, "with Mr. Rittenhouse and Mr. Hutchins, to "settle the line between New York and Mass. "I saw the Dr. at New York. He gave me a "letter to his lady, which I delivered. She "had already received a letter from the Dr. "informing her that I should be in the city, "that week; and that I had given him encour-"agement, if I spent the Sabbath in the city, of "supplying his pulpit. I assured Mrs. Ewing "that it would not be in my power to supply "the desk, as I was absolutely obliged to leave "the city before the Sabbath. We also called "on Bishop White and Dr. Sproat, to whom I "had letters, and on Mr. John Vaughan, son of "Sam. Vaughan, Esq., and the brother of my "friends, Charles and Samuel Vaughan. The "old gentleman was gone a journey into the "Ohio-country. His son received me, cordial-"ly; and dismissed all business, to attend me. "His mother and sisters are gone with his "brother's son, to London—himself and father "keep bachelors'-hall, in an elegant house, in "Front St. He proposed to accompany us to "Dr. Franklin's, whom he considered as a "father. When we came to Mr. Gerry's, he "was waiting for us. As I was fatigued, "we remained half an hour. Two young "ladies, of the name of Hamilton, were visit-"ing Mrs. Gerry, dressed very richly, sociable, "and agreeable. Mr. Vaughan took a large "share in the conversation; and, with his easy "and natural pleasantry, kept us in a burst of "laughter. I knew Mr. Vaughan was not ac-"quainted with Mr. Gerry: I, therefore, intro-"duced him, which Mr. Gerry likewise did to "his lady and the company. But I immediate-"ly supposed the young ladies, from his in-"stant and free sociability, were of his intimate "friends. But, on our way to Dr. Franklin's, "he asked me if those young ladies were of my "acquaintance & what were their names. This "excited my astonishment. I asked if he "had never seen them, before. He said 'No,' "and was sure they did not belong to Philadel-"phia, or he certainly should have had some "knowledge of them. They were from New "York, Mr. Gerry informed us, and of Mrs. "Gerry's particular acquaintances. What ad-"vantages are derived from a finished education "and the best of company. How does it banish "that awkward stiffness, so common when

"strangers meet in company, and engages the "most perfect strangers in all the freedom of an "easy and pleasing sociability common only to "the most intimate friends."

"Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street; his "house stands up a court-yard, at some distance "from the street. We" [*Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts and Doctor Cutler*] "found him "sitting upon a grass-plat, under a very large "mulberry, with several other gentlemen and "two or three ladies. There was no curiosity "in Philadelphia, which I felt so anxious to "see as this great man, who has been the won-"der of Europe, as well as the pride of Ameri-"ca. But a man who stood high, in the literary "world, and had spent so many years in the "Courts of Kings, particularly in the refined "Court of France, I conceived, would not be "of very easy access, and must, certainly, have "much the air of grandeur and majesty about "him. Common folks must expect only to "gaze at him, at a distance, and answer such "questions as he might please to ask. In "short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I "was going to be introduced into the presence "of an European monarch.

"But how were my ideas changed when I "saw a short, fat, trunched, old man, in a plain "quaker-dress, bald pate, and short white "locks, sitting without his hat, under the tree: "and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from "his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his "joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and "begged me to seat myself close to him. His "voice was low, but his countenance open, "frank, and pleasing. He instantly reminded "me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly "of his pitch, and no more the air of superiority "about him. I delivered him my letters. Af-"ter he had read them he took me again by the "hand, and, with the usual compliments, in-"troduced me to the other gentlemen, the most "of whom were members of the Convention. "Here we entered into a free conversation and "spent our time very agreeably, until it was "quite dark. The tea-table was spread under "the tree; and Mrs. Beach—a very gross and "rather a homely woman, who is the only "daughter of the Doctor and lives with him—"served it out to the company. She had three "of her children about her, over whom she "seemed to have no kind of command. They "seemed to be exceedingly fond of their grand-"father. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he "had just received, and with which he was "much pleased. It was a snake, with two "heads, preserved in a large vial. It was taken "near the confluence of the Schuylkill with "the Delaware, about four miles from this "city. It was about ten inches long, well pro-"portioned, the heads perfect, and united to the "body, about one-fourth of an inch below the "extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a "dark brown, approaching to black, and the "back beautifully speckled (if beauty can be "applied to a snake) with white. The belly "was rather chequered with a reddish color and "white. The Dr. supposed it to be full grown, "which I think is probable, and thinks it must "be a *sui generis*, of that class of animals. "He grounds his opinion of its not being an "extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, "on the perfect form of the snake, the prob-"ability of its being of some age, and there "having been found a snake, entirely similar, "(of which he shewed us a drawing) near "Lake Champlain, in the time of the late "War.

"He mentioned what the situation of this "snake would be, if it was traveling among "bushes, and one head should choose to go one "side of a bush and the other head should pre-"fer the other side, and neither would be will-"ing to come back or give way to the other! "He was then going to mention a humorous "matter that had occurred, that day, in Con-"vention, in consequence of his comparing the "snake to America—for he seemed to forget "that every thing in Convention was to be kept "a profound secret—but the secrecy of the Con-"vention matters was suggested to him, which "stopped him, and deprived me of the story he "was going to tell.

"After it was dark we went into the house "and the Doctor invited me into his library, "which is likewise his study. It is a very "large chamber and high. The walls were "covered with book-shelves filled with books; "besides, there are four alcoves, extending two-"thirds of the length of the chamber, filled "in the same manner. I presume this is the "largest and, by far, the best private library in "America.

"He showed a glass machine for exhibiting "the circulation of the blood, in the arteries "and veins of the human body. The circula-"tion is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid, "from a reservoir, into numerous capillary tubes "of glass ramified, in every direction, and then "returning, in similar tubes, to the reservoir, "which was done with great velocity, without "any power to act, visibly, upon the fluid, and "had the appearance of perpetual motion.

"Another great curiosity was a rolling press, "for taking copies of letters or any other writ-"ing. A sheet of paper is completely copied "in two minutes, the copy as fair as the origin-"al, and without defacing it. It is an inven-"tion of his own, and extremely useful, in "many situations in life. He also showed me

"his artificial arm and hand, for taking down "and putting up books, on high shelves, & "his great arm-chair, with rockers and a large "fan placed over it, with which he fans himself "& keeps off the flies while he sits reading, "with only a small motion of the foot. He "showed me many other curiosities & inven- "tions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over "his mantle-tree he has a great number of med- "als, busts, and casts, in wax or plaster of "Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted "characters in Europe.

"But what the Doctor wished principally "to show me was a huge volume on Botany, "and which, indeed, afforded me the greatest "pleasure of any one thing in his Library. It "was a single volume, bnt so large that it was "with great difficulty that the Doctor was able "to raise it from a low shelf, and lift it on the "table; but, with that senile ambition that is "common to old people, he insisted on doing it "himself, and would permit no person to assist "him, merely to show us how much strength he "had remaining. It contained the whole of "Linneaus's *Systema Vegitabilia*, with large "cuts of every plant, and colored from nature. "It was a feast to me; and the Doctor seemed "to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a "couple of hours in examining the volume, "while the other gentlemen amused themselves "with other matters. The Doctor is not a Bot- "anist, but lamented that he did not, in early "life, attend to this science. He delights in "Natural History; and expressed an earnest "wish that I should pursue the plan that I had "begun, and hoped this science, so much "neglected in America, would be pursued with "as much ardor, here, as it is, now, in every "part of Europe.

"I wanted, for three months, at least to have "devoted myself entirely to this one volume. "But, fearing, lest I should be tedious to the "Doctor, I shut the book, 'tho he urged me to "examine it longer. The Doctor seemed ex- "tremely fond of dwelling on philosophical "subjects, particularly Natural History; while "the other gentlemen were swallowed up with "politics. This was a favorable circumstance "for me; for almost the whole of his conversa- "tion was addressed to me, and I was highly "delighted with the extensive knowledge he "appeared to have, of every subject, the bright- "ness of his memory, and the clearness and "vivacity of all his mental faculties. Notwith- "standing his age—eighty-four—his manners "are perfectly easy; and every thing about "him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom "and happiness. He has an incessant vein of "humor, accompanied with an uncommon "vivacity, which seems as natural and involun- "tary as breathing. He urged me to call on "him, again; but my short tarry would not ad- "mit. We took our leave, at ten, and retired "to my lodgings."

July 14. Doctor Cutler visited Bartram's Botanical Garden, about two miles from Philadelphia. He was in illustrious company, as his party was made up of "Mr. Strong, Gov. "Luther Martin, Mr. Mason and son, Mr. Wil- "liamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. "Hamilton, all members of the Federal Con- "vention, and Mr. Vaughan, and Dr. Clarkson "and son." The Doctor commends the garden; and yet severely criticises it, by declaring "every thing is very badly arranged, for they "are neither placed ornamentally nor botanical- "ly, but seem to be jumbled together, in heaps." He speaks of Governor Martin as having "a "smattering of Botany and a fine taste for "Natural History."

"At 11, attended Dr. Rush, in his visitation "to the Hospital. Was much interested. "Visited the room in which the Declaration of "Independence of the United States was "framed, signed, and declared by Congress. "The room is in Carpenter's Hall, and is now "improved as the depository of the trophies of "War, which established and crowned that "bold and glorious Declaration."

Having made a number of calls on gentlemen in the city, all of whom expressed regret at his leaving so soon, he "left the city, at half after "six, for New York."

On his way home, he visited Morristown, New Jersey, where he found some relatives. On the seventeenth of July, passing over Newark Mountains, and through Newark, he came to Bergentown, near which place he visited the Botanical Garden of M. Mechard, who came as the French King's Agent, to collect plants for the Royal Gardens, at Paris. The visit greatly disappointed him.

"Arrived at New York, about sunset, & "lodged again at Mr. Henderson's, who received "me with the greatest cordiality."

[To be Continued.]

Scrap.—The first building ever used in Chicago for postal or other business, was a small one-and-a-half story frame-house, occupied as a grocery and dry-goods store, in the front of which a home-made, swinging signboard informed the passer-by, that John Hogan was proprietor of the place and Postmaster of the embryo city. The nearest Post-office was Detroit; and the mails were forwarded, very irregularly, from that point, alone. That was just forty years ago.

IV.—*A REMINISCENCE OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, IN SOUTH CAROLINA.**

COMMUNICATED BY REV. DR. HOWE, OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHESTER DISTRICT, S. C., July, 1836.

By reference to a number of this paper of July, 1835, the reader will see that, at a celebration of the Fourth of July, at the house of Mr. John Bonner, a Committee was appointed to wait on the Revolutioners present, and request that they would furnish particulars that came under their observation, which are not to be found in history, that such information be not lost to posterity.

Joseph Gaston, Esq., has at length favored the Committee with the object of their request, which, we think, will be read with great interest by every person who is proud of the gallant achievements of our patriotic forefathers.

We would observe, that while the aged author and hero relates his brief history, he says but little of self, whereas he is known to have suffered the most extreme toils and privations, that were known in these perilous times; was severely wounded in an engagement, in the face, the ball cut through the cheek-bone more than the size of itself, which for many years was painful and ulcerating, which left his cheek flat and very visible.

The Committee have to lament the death of James Harbison, Esq., who died on the third of November last. He had promised to write out some incidents, which the Committee had great expectations from, as he was an "eye and ear "witness" to the thunders of his country's sons, for liberty. He was one of the most gallant Revolutioners; had an iron constitution; a strong mind and honest heart; a very retentive memory; and in his mind lived, as if it had passed yesterday, every scene of the Revolution.

JAMES MCDILL,
Chairman of Committee.

[MR. GASTON'S NARRATIVE.]

SIR:

With pleasure, I, at this late hour, have attempted to comply with the polite request made by your respectable Committee, to the soldiers of the Revolution, present with you on the fourth of July, 1835. Your request was that they would furnish you with a few of the most important facts of those times which "tried men's souls;" and which are not related by, or perhaps, were not known to, our historians; but might be thought worthy of being preserved.

Sir, there is one train of events which has almost sunk into oblivion; and which, I hope, you will think worthy of being considered as one of the brightest pages in the history of our State. I would publish it, as a tribute of respect, to the memory of those undaunted patriots who were engaged in it, as well as to set before our countrymen, what invincible courage may achieve when determined on liberty or death! At the time, when the Capital of our State had surrendered to the invading enemy; our army of the South disarmed and imprisoned; and not a vestige of armed force on our behalf in the State, as far as can be discovered from the history of those gloomy times; five young men bound themselves, and made an effort, which is, perhaps, without a parallel!

Captain John McClure, a young man, perhaps twenty-five years old, had taken a part of his Militia Company on, towards Charleston, and was at or near Monk's-corner, when the town surrendered. His men then returned home; and he, on his way, called at the house of John Gaston, Esq., in the then Chester-county. When there, he and his friends received intelligence of the shocking massacre of Colonel Bradford's men, by Tarleton, two days previous, about twenty miles from the place where he had stopped—this massacre took place, perhaps, on the nineteenth of May, 1780. On the reception of this news, he (Captain McClure), and three of said Gaston's sons, and Captain John Steek, I think, arose upon their feet and made this united and solemn declaration: "that they "would never submit nor surrender to the "enemies of their country; that '*Liberty or* "'*death*,' from that time forth, should be their "motto!" Each of these young men had served three years in the Company of Captain Eli Kershaw, of the Third Regiment of South Carolina Militia, commanded by Colonel William Thompson, with the above motto inscribed on the front of their military caps.

About this time, a man calling himself Colonel Honsman, came to the house of John Gaston, Esq., in a dress altogether plain, accompanied by about fifty of those plundering banditti which British policy had dignified with the name of "*loyalists*," and exhausted a considerable share of his logic, in advising the old gentleman to have his sons brought in, on a certain day, to give up their arms, at his encampment. His camp was to be pitched at Alexander's old fields, now Beckhamville.

The eloquence of the orator was inadequate to the task. True, they met him on the appointed day; but, for a purpose very different from that which he desired. These young men immediately visited the settlements of Fishing-creek, Rocky-creek, and Sandy-river, that they might

* This letter was originally printed in the *Columbia Hive*, of August 6, 1836.

peculiar good fortune to be the first in every engagement, and ever *with* the first in the estimation of his Commander. "Permit me," writes General Harrison,* "to recommend Captain "Wood, of the Engineers, to the President, and "to assure you that any mark of his approba- "tion bestowed upon Captain Wood would be "highly gratifying to the whole of the troops "who witnessed his arduous exertions." "From "the long illness of Captain Gratiot, of the "Corps of Engineers, the important duties of "fortifying the camp devolved on Captain Wood "of that Corps. In assigning to him the first "palm of merit, so far as relates to the transac- "tions within the works, the General is con- "vinced the same decision will be awarded by "every individual in the camp who witnessed "his indefatigable exertions, his consummate "skill in providing for the safety of every point "and in foiling every attempt of the enemy, and "his undaunted bravery in the performance of "his duty in the most exposed situations." "To "Major Wood," writes General Ripley,† "I feel "particularly indebted. This officer's merits "are so well known that approbation can "scarcely add to his reputation." "You "know," writes General Porter,‡ "how exalt- "ed an opinion I have always entertained of "Lieutenant-colonel Wood, of the Engineers. "His conduct on this day" *(of the sortie)* "was "what it uniformly has been on every similar "occasion, an exhibition of military skill, acute "judgment, and heroic valor." "His name "and example," writes General Brown to the Secretary of War, "will live to guide the sol- "dier in the path of duty so long as true hero- "ism is held in estimation."§

McRea, too, the senior officer of the Engineer Corps, on the Niagara, must not be passed by unnoticed. Writing of the Battle of Lundy's-lane,‖ General Brown remarks: "The Engin- "eers, Majors McRea and Wood, were greatly "distinguished on this day, and their high "military talents exerted with great effect; "they were much under my eye and near my "person, and to their assistance a great deal is "fairly to be ascribed. I most earnestly recom "mend them as worthy of the highest trust "and confidence." "Major, or as he is now, "Colonel, McRea's industry and talents are the "admiration of the whole army."* After the sortie, General Brown thus writes,† "Lieutenant- "colonels McRea and Wood having rendered "to this army services the most important, I "must seize the opportunity of again mention- "ing them, particularly. On every trying occa- "sion, I have reaped much benefit from their "sound and excellent advice. No two officers "of their grade could have contributed more "to the safety and honor of this army, * * * "McRea still lives to enjoy the approbation of "every virtuous and generous mind, and to re- "ceive the reward due to his services and high "military talents." But that reward, it seems, was never forthcoming. With science and military talent of the very highest eminence, and a genius for command able to direct the operations of the largest army which could be brought into the field, he, together with the other long-distinguished and able officers of the Engineer Corps, was passed by for a foreigner. Colonel McRea, himself, aided and contributed to the success of the negotiations which brought General Beruard to this country; and, having done all that he could do, in the faithful discharge of this duty, he resigned his commission, with a wounded heart, and retired from the service to private life. He died, in 1832, of the cholera.

The lecturer's own words, on the first of October, 1814, will conclude the narrative of his share in the events of this Campaign: "Now that the British force have retired, my "time is spent very differently from what it was "a few weeks since. The large details of men "have ceased, in a great measure; and, instead "of being incessantly engaged in the engineer "work on the batteries and bastion, I take out "a squad of Bombardiers and spend my time, "very quietly, in measuring the principal lines "about the camp and the adjacent country. "This, always a favorite employment with me, "would be still more delightful if I had any "instruments to work with; but, the difficulty "is, that I have no means, except of my own "invention, for measuring either a line or an "angle; and it is necessary to go over some of "my work, two or three times, in different "ways, to prove its correctness or detect any "error which might occur. For my lines, I use "an old cord with half a dozen knots in it, to "which I am obliged to apply a ten-foot pole, "every five minutes, to correct its variations. "As for my angles, I have divers ways and some "very wonderful ones, too, of ascertaining "them."

* General Harrison to the Secretary of War, "Fort "Meigs, May 9, 1813:" General Harrison's "General Or- "ders," Fort Meigs, May 9, 1813.

† To the Commanding General, "Fort Erie, August 17, "1814."

‡ To the Commanding General, "Fort Erie, September "22, 1814."

§ The monument, at West Point, erected to his memory by General Brown.

‖ To the Secretary of War, "Buffalo, August, 1814."

* D. B. Douglass, "Fort Erie, September 9, 1814."

† To the Secretary of War, "Fort Erie, September 29, "1814."

October 18th, 1814. "From the time I "wrote my last letter, I continued to employ "myself, as there stated, but I had hardly com- "pleted my rough sketches of the ground, un- "til loss of appetite and health compelled me "to be confined to my quarters. The extreme- "ly unhealthy nature of under-ground quarters, "such as mine, rendered them very unfit for "the residence of a healthy man, and much "more so for one in my situation. I became "weaker and weaker, every day, while I remain- "ed in them, until Colonel McRea procured an "order for me to be removed to Williamsville, "on the American side."

The exposures, fatigues, privations, and anxieties, of this eventful Campaign had proved too much for him. He languished for many days, under a bilious fever, from which, however, by the blessing of God, his naturally elastic and vigorous constitution gradually recovered.

[To be Continued.]

III.—*THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.*—Concluded from Page 89.

By Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., President of Wabash-college, Indiana.

"*July 18th.*—Paid my respects, this morning, "to the President of Congress, Gen. St. Clair. "Called on a number of my friends. Attended "at the City Hall, on members of Congress and "their Committee. We renewed our negotia- "tions. Dined with Capt. Hammond, in com- "pany with a young Irish nobleman and Mr. "Hillegass, Treasurer of the United States, and "some other company. Drank tea and spent "the evening at Sir John Temple's. This day "is Commencement, at Cambridge, which Major "Sargent, Gen. Webb, and a few others call- "ed to mind; and we celebrated it, at eleven "o'clock, at General Webb's, with a bottle or "two of wine and some good old Cheshire "cheese. We conclude they must have had a "fine Commencement, if the atmosphere at Cam- "bridge has been as fine and cool as our's, in "New York.

"*July 19.*—Called on members of Congress "very early this morning. Was furnished with "the Ordinance establishing a Government in "the Western Federal Territory. *It is, in a "degree, new modelled. The amendments I pro- "posed have all been made, except one; and that "is better qualified.* It was that we should not "be subject to Continental taxation, until we "were entitled to a full representation in Con- "gress. This could not be fully obtained, for "it was considered, in Congress, as offering a "premium to emigrants. They have granted us "representation, with the right of debating, but "not of voting, upon our being first subject to "taxation. As there are a number, in Congress, "decidedly opposed to my terms of negotia- "tions, and some to any contract, I wish now to "ascertain the number for and against; and "who they are; and must then, if possible, "bring the opponents over. This I have men- "tioned to Col. Duer, who has promised to assist "me. Grayson, R. H. Lee, and Carrington are, "certainly, my warm advocates. Holton, I "think, may be trusted. *Dane must be careful- "ly watched, notwithstanding his professions.* "Clarke, Bingham, Yates, Kearney, and Few "are troublesome fellows. They must be at- "tacked by my friends, at their lodgings. If "they can be brought over, I shall succeed; if "not, my business is at an end. Attended the "Committee, this morning. They are determin- "ed to make a report, to day, and try the spirit "of Congress. Dined with Gen. Knox—about "forty gentlemen, officers of the late Continen- "tal Army, and among them Baron Steuben. "Gen. Knox gave us an entertainment in the "style of a prince. I had the honor of being "seated next to the Baron, who is a hearty, so- "ciable, old fellow. He was dressed in his "military uniform, and with the ensigns of no- "bility—the Star and Garter. Every gentlemen, "at table, was of the Cincinnati, except myself, "and wore their appropriate badges. Spent "the evening at Dr. Holton's, with Col. Duer "and several members of Congress, who in- "formed me an Ordinance was passed, in con- "sequence of my petition; but, by their ac- "count of it, it will answer no purpose.

"*July 20.*—This morning, the Secretary of "Congress furnished me with the Ordinance of "yesterday, which states the conditions of a "contract, but on terms to which I shall by no "means accede. Informed the Committee of "Congress that I could not contract on the terms "proposed. Should prefer purchasing lands of "some of the States, who would give incom- "parably better terms, and therefore proposed "to leave the city, immediately. They appear- "ed to be very sorry no better terms were offer- "ed, and insisted on my not thinking of leaving "Congress, until another attempt was made. I "told them I saw no prospect of a contract; "and wished to spend no more time and money "in a business so unpromising. They assured "me I had many friends in Congress, who "would make every exertion in my favor; that "it was an object of great magnitude; and I "must not expect to accomplish it, in less than

"two or three months. If I desired it, they "would take the matter up, that day, on differ- "ent grounds; and did not doubt they should "yet obtain terms agreeable to my wishes. Col. "Duer came to me with *proposals from a num- "ber of the principal characters in the city, to "extend our contract and take in another Com- "pany; but that it should be kept a profound "secret.* He explained the plan they had con- "certed; and offered me generous conditions, "if I would accomplish the business for them. "The plan struck me agreeably. Sargent in- "sisted on my undertaking; and both urged "me not to think of giving the matter up so "soon. I was convinced it was best for me to "hold up the idea giving up contract with "Congress, and making a contract with some "of the States, which I did, in the strongest "terms, and represented to the Committee, and to "Duer, and Sargent, the difficulties I saw in the "way, and the improbability of closing a bar- "gain, when we were so far apart; and told "them I conceived it not worth while to say any "thing further to Congress, on the subject. "This appeared to have the effect I wished. "The Committee were mortified, and did not "seem to know what to say; but still urged "another attempt. I left them in this state; "but afterwards explained my views to Duer and "Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Prom- "ised Duer to consider his proposals. We had "agreed, last evening, to make a party to Brook- "line, on Long Island, which is a small village "opposite New York, divided from it by East- "river. Duer, Webb, Hammond, and Sargent, "and others were of the party. When we land- "ed, we ordered a dinner of fried oysters, at "the Stone House tavern. We took a walk on "the high lands, and viewed several of the old "forts erected by the British, at the expense of "immense labor. Here we had a fine prospect "of New York, the shipping in the harbor, and "of Staten Island. We dined at four, dinner "was elegant. Oysters were cooked in every "possible form; but the fried were most delic- "ious. Spent the evening (closeted) with Col. "Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if "terms can be obtained for another Company, "which will probably forward the negotiation.

"*Saturday, July 21.*—Several members of "Congress called on me, early this morning. "They discovered much anxiety about a con- "tract; and assured me that Congress, on find- "ing I was determined not to accept their terms "and had proposed leaving the city, had dis- "covered a much more favorable disposition, "and believed, if I renewed my request, I might "obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. "I was very indifferent, and talked much of a "contract with some of the States. At length, "I told them if *Congress would accede to the "terms I had proposed*, I would extend the pur- "chase to the tenth township from the Ohio, and "to the Scioto, inclusively, by which Congress "would pay near four millions of the national "debt; that our intention was an actual, a large "and immediate, settlement of the most robust "and industrious people in America; and that "it would be made systematically, which must "instantly enhance the value of Federal lands, "and prove an important acquisition to Con- "gress. On these terms, I would renew the ne- "gotiations, if Congress was disposed to take "the matter up again. Dined with Gen. Webb, "Maj. Sargent, and Maj'r Giles, at the Mess "House, in Broadway, opposite the play-house, "at the invitation of Maj. Giles; a very fine "dinner. Spent the evening with Mr. Dane and "Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Con- "gress had taken up my business again.

"*July 23.*—My friends had made every exer- "tion, in private conversation, to bring over "my opponents in Congress. In order to get at "some of them, so as to work powerfully on "their minds, were obliged to engage three or "four persons before we could get at them. In "some instances, we engaged one person, who "engaged a second, and he a third, so on to the "fourth, before we could effect our purpose. "In these manœuvres, I am much beholden to "the assistance of Col. Duer and Maj. Sargent. "The matter was taken up, in Congress, and "warmly debated, until three o'clock, when an- "other Ordinance was obtained. This was not "to the minds of my friends, who were now "considerably increased, in Congress; but they "conceived it to be better than the former; and "they had obtained an additional clause, empow- "ering the Board of Treasury to take order upon "this Ordinance, and complete the contract, on "the general principles contained in it, which "still left room for negotiation. Dined with "Mr. Henderson, for the first time, since I have "been in the city, which he insisted upon, altho' "I had several other invitations. Spent the "evening with Col. Grayson and members of "Congress from the Southward, who were in "favor of a contract. Having found it impos- "sible to support Gen. Parsons as a candidate "for Governor, after the interest that Gen. St. "Clair had secured, and suspecting this might "be some impediment in the way, for my en- "deavours to make interest for him were well "known, and the arrangement of civil officers "being on the carpet, I embraced this opportun- "ity frankly to declare that, for my own part, "I ventured to engage for Maj. Sargent that, if "Gen. Parsons could have the appointment of "First Judge and Sargent Secretary, we should "be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his

"Excelleney, Gen. St. Clair, might be the Gov-
"ernor; and that I would solicit the Eastern
"members to favor such an arrangement. This
"I found rather pleasing to the Southern mem-
"bers; and they were so complaisant as to ask,
"repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to
"me in the Western country. I assured them I
"wished for no appointment in the civil line.
"Col. Grayson proposed the office of one of the
"Judges, which was seconded by all the gentle-
"men present. The obtaining an oppointment,
"I observed, had never come into my mind; nor
"was there any civil office I should, at present,
"be willing to accept. This declaration seem-
"ed to be rather surprising, especially to men
"who were so much used to solicit, or be solicit-
"ed, for appointments of honor or profit.
"They seemed to be the more urgent on this
"head. I observed to them, although I wished
"for nothing for myself, yet I thonght the
"Ohio Company entitled to some attention;
"that one of the Judges, besides Gen. Parsons,
"should be of that body; and that Gen. Put-
"man was the man best qualified and would be
"most agreeable to the Company. I gave them
"his character. We spent the evening very
"agreeably, until a late hour.

"*July 24.*—I received, this morning, a letter
"from the Board of Treasury, enclosing the
"Resolutions of Congress which passed yester-
"day, and requesting to know whether I was
"ready to close a contract, on those terms. As
"the contract had now become of much greater
"magnitude than when I had only the Ohio
"Company in view, I felt a diffidence in acting
"alone, and wished Maj. Sargent to be joined
"with me; although he had not been formally
"empowered to act, for the commission from
"the Directors was solely to me. It would,
"likewise, take off some part of the responsi-
"bility from me, if the contract should not be
"agreeable. After consulting Duer, I proposed
"it to Sargent, who readily accepted. We an-
"swered the letter from the Board, as jointly
"commissioned in making the contract. We
"informed the Board that the terms in the Re-
"solves of Congress were such as we *could not*
"*accede to without some variation;* we, there-
"fore, begged leave to state to the Board, the
"terms on which we were ready to close the
"contract; and that those terms were our ulti-
"matum. This letter we sent to the Board;
"but the packet having just arrived from Eng-
"land, and another to sail, the next morning, it
"was not in their power to attend any farther to
"our business for the day. Dined with Mr.
"Hilligass, Treas^{r} of the United States. Spent
"the evening with Mr. Osgood, President of the
"Board of Treasury, who appeared to be very
"solicitous to be fully informed of our plan.
"No gentleman has an higher character for
"planning and calculating than Mr. Osgood. I
"was, therefore, much pleased with an oppor-
"tunity of fully explaining it to him. But we
"were unfortunately interrupted with company.
"We, however, went over the outlines, and he
"appeared well disposed.

"*July 25.*—This morning, the Board of
"Treasury sent our letter to the Secretary of
"Congress, requesting him to lay it before Con-
"gress, for their approbation or rejection. But
"the packets from Europe, received, yesterday,
"by the British packet, occupied the attention
"of Congress for the day. Mr. Osgood desired
"me to dine with him, assuring me he had pur-
"posely omitted inviting any other company,
"that we might not be interrupted in going over
"our plan. I had been repeatedly assured that
"Mr. Osgood was my friend, and that he had
"censured Congress for not consenting to the
"terms I had offered; but such is the intrigue
"and artifice which is often practised by men
"in power, I felt very suspicious, and was as
"cautious as possible. Our plan, however, I
"had no scruple to communicate, and went over
"it, in all its parts. Mr. Osgood made many
"valuable observations—the extent of his in-
"formation astonished me. His views of the
"Continent and of Europe were so enlarged,
"that he appeared to be a perfect master of
"every subject of this kind. He highly ap-
"proved our plan, and told me he thought it
"the best ever formed in America. He dwelt
"much on the advantages of system, in a new
"settlement; said system had never before been
"attempted; that we might depend on accom-
"plishing our purposes, in Europe; and that it
"was a most important part of our plan—if we
"were able to establish a settlement as we pro-
"posed, however small, in the beginning, we
"should then have surmounted our greatest dif-
"ficulty; that every other object would lie
"within our reach, and if the matter was pur-
"sued with spirit, he believed it would prove
"one of the greatest undertakings ever yet at-
"tempted in America. He thought Congress
"would do an essential service to the United
"States if they gave us the land, rather than
"our plan should be defeated; and promised to
"make every exertion in his power, in our
"favor. We spent the afternoon and evening
"alone and very agreeably.

"*July 26.*—This morning, I accompanied
"Gen. St. Clair and Knox on a tour of morning-
"visits and, particularly, to the Foreign Minis-
"ters. This visit had been previously proposed
"by Gen. Knox, who was so obliging as to in-
"troduce me to them. * * * * Being now
"eleven o'clock, Gen. St. Clair was obliged to
"attend Congress. After we came into the

"street, Gen. St. Clair assured me he would "make every possible exertion to prevail with "Congress to accept the terms contained in our "letter. He appeared much interested and very "friendly; but said we must expect opposition. "I was now fully convinced that it was good "policy to give up Parsons and openly to ap- "pear solicitous that St. Clair might be ap- "pointed Governor. Several gentlemen have "told me that our matters went on much better "since St. Clair and his friends had been in- "formed that we had given up Parsons, and "that I had solicited the Eastern members, in "favor of his appointment. I immediately "went to Sargent and Duer. We now entered "into the true spirit of negotiation, with great "bodies. Every machine in the city that it was "possible to set to work, we now put in motion. "Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal "opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is "hope; but to bring over that stubborn mule "of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power. "The Board of Treasury, I think, will do us "much service, if Doctor Lee is not against us, "tho' Duer assures me I have got the length "of his foot, and that he calls me an open, "frank, honest, New England man, which he "considers an uncommon animal. Yet, from "his natural jealous, cautious make, I feel sus- "picious of him, especially as Mr. Osgood tells "me he has made every attempt to learn his "sentiments, but is not able to do it. His "brother, Richard Henry Lee, is certainly our "fast friend. I have hopes he will engage him "in our interest. Dined with Sir John Temple, "in company with several gentlemen. I imme- "diately, after dinner, took my leave and called "on Doctor Holton. He told me Congress had "been warmly engaged in our business, the "whole day; that the opposition was lessened, "but our friends did not think it prudent to "take a vote, lest there should not be a majori- "ty in favor. I felt much discouraged; and "told the Doctor I thought it in vain to wait "longer, and must leave. He reproved my im- "patience; said, if I obtained my purpose in a "month from that time, I should be far more "expeditious than was common in getting much "smaller matters through Congress; that it was "of great magnitude, for it far exceeded any "private contract ever made before, in the Unit- "ed States; that, if I should fail now, I ought "still to pursue the matter, for I should most "certainly finally obtain the object. To com- "fort me, he assured me that it was impossible "for him to conceive by what kind of address "I had so soon and so warmly engaged the at- "tention of Congress, for, since he had been a "member of that body, he assured me, on his "honor, that he never knew so much attention "paid to any one person, who made application "to them, on any kind of business, nor did he "ever know them more pressing to bring it to a "close. He could not have supposed that any "three men from New England, even of the "first character, could have accomplished so "much, in so short a time. This, I believe, was "mere flattery, 'tho it was delivered with a very "serious air; but it gave me some consolation. "I now learned, very nearly, who were for and "who were against the terms. Bingham is come "over; but Few and Kearney are stubborn. "Unfortunately, there are only eight States rep- "resented; and, unless seven of these are in "favor, no Ordinance can pass. Every moment "of this evening, until two o'clock, was busily "employed—a warm siege was laid on Few and "Kearney, from different quarters; and, if the "point is not effectually carried, the attack is "to be renewed in the morning. Duer, Sargent, "and myself have also agreed, if we fail, that "Sargent shall go on to Maryland, which is not "at present represented, and prevail on the "members to come on, and to interest them, if "possible, in our plan. I am to go on to Con- "necticut and Rhode Island, to solicit the mem- "bers from those States to go on to New York, "and to lay an anchor to windward, with them. "As soon as those States are represented, Sar- "gent is to renew the application. I have "promised Duer, if it be found necessary, I "will then return to New York again.

"*Friday, July 27.*—I rose very early, this "morning; and, after adjusting my baggage "for my return—for I was determined to leave "New York, this day—I set out on a general "morning visit, and paid my respects to all the "members of Congress in the city, and informed "them of my intention to leave the City, that "day. My expectations of obtaining a con- "tract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I "should, however, wait the decision of Con- "gress; and, if the terms we had stated (and "which I conceived to be advantageous to Con- "gress, considering the circumstances of that "country) were not acceded to, we must turn "our attention to some other part of the coun- "try. New York, Connecticut, and Massachu- "setts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and "give us exclusive privileges beyond what we "had asked of Congress. The speculating "plan, concerted between the British of Cana- "da and New Yorkers, was now well known. "The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with "respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A "revolt of that country from the Union, if a "War with Spain took place, was universally "acknowledged to be highly probable; and, "most certainly, systematic settlement in that "country, conducted by men strongly attached

"to the Federal Government, and composed of "young, robust, and hardly laborers, who had "no idea of any other than the Federal Govern- "ment, I conceived to be objects worthy of some "attention. Besides, if Congress rejected the "terms now offered, there could be no prospect "of an application from any other quarter: if "an honorable purchase could now be obtained, "I presumed contracts with the natives, similar "to that made with the Six Nations, must be "the consequence, especially as it could be "much more easily carried into effect. These "and such like, were the arguments I urged. "They seemed to be fully acceded to; but, "whether they will avail is very uncertain. Mr. "R. H. Lee assured me he was prepared for "one hour's speech; and he hoped for success. "All urged me not to leave the city so soon; "but I assumed the air of perfect indifference, "and persisted in my determination, which had, "apparently, the effect I wished. Passing the "City Hall, as the members were going into "Congress, Col. Carrington told me he believed "Few was secured; that little Kearney was "left alone; and that he determined to make "one more trial of what he could do in Con- "gress. Called on Sir John Temple, for letters "to Boston; bid my friends, good bye; and, "as it was my last day, Mr. Henderson insisted "on my dining with him and a number of his "friends, whom he had invited. At half past "three, I was informed that an Ordinance had "passed Congress, *on the terms stated in our "letter, without the least variation;* and that "the Board of Treasury was directed to take "order and close the contract. This was agree- "able, but unexpected intelligence. Sargent "and I went, immediately, to the Board, who "had received the Ordinance; but they were "then rising. They urged me to stay. They "would put by all other business to complete "the contract; but I found it inconvenient, "and, after making a general verbal adjust- "ment, I left it with Sargent, to finish what "remained to be done, at present. Dr. Lee "congratulated me, and declared he would do "all in his power to adjust the terms of the "contract, so far as was left to them, as much "in our favor as possible. I proposed three "months for collecting the first half million of "dollars and for executing the instruments of "purchase; which was acceded to. By this "Ordinance, we obtained the Grant of near "five millions of acres of land, amounting to "three million and a half of dollars. One "million and a half of acres for the Ohio Com- "pany, and the remainder for a private specu- "lation, in which many of the principal char- "acters in America are concerned. Without "connecting this speculation, similar terms and "advantages could not have been obtained for "the Ohio Company. On my return, through "Broadway, I received the congratulations of "a number of my friends in Congress, and "others, whom I happened to meet with. At "half past six, took my leave of Mr. Hender- "son and family, where I had been most kind- "ly and generously entertained. Left the city "by way of the Bowery. Although I felt great "anxiety to return, yet I left New York with "reluctance. The attention and generous treat- "ment I had met with here, was totally differ- "ent from what I had ever before met with. "My business and introductory letters were "the occasion of my forming an extensive "acquaintance, and with those of the first "characters. I passed away my time, notwith- "standing all my labor and fatigue, in a con- "stant round of pleasure. Some of my ac- "quaintance, here, I shall ever consider among "the first with whom I have had the happiness "to form a connection, particularly Mr. Duer, "who took his leave in the most affectionate "manner. He is a gentleman of the most "sprightly abilities, and has a soul filled with "the warmest benevolence and generosity. He "is made both for business and the enjoyment "of life; his attachment strong and sincere; "and diffuses happiness among his friends, "while he enjoys a full share of it himself."

We are sure our readers will be grateful for the publication of these full quotations from this Diary of Doctor Cutler, displaying, so clearly, the manners, people, and places which he had the opportunity of observing, and, especially, for the view given of the difficulties he had to surmount, before securing the purchase of lands North of the Ohio, on terms which should be in harmony with the convictions and interests of the men who employed him as their Agent and who, themselves, expected to become actual settlers on the land. As is evident, one point most prominent before his mind, was the enunciation of a fundamental principle, by the Congress with whom he was negotiating the purchase, which would certainly insure to those who should colonize, exemption from the evils of slavery and the enjoyment of privileges, in matters of religion and education, in kind similar to those which prevailed in New England.

What was the precise state of affairs, in this respect, when Doctor Cutler came New York, in 1787? The State of Virginia, in March, 1784, "ceded all her claims to jurisdiction over "territory North-west of the Ohio, and to the "soil also of that territory, subject to the res- "ervation in behalf of her soldiers." Immediately, a Select Committee was appointed, of which Mr. Jefferson was Chairman, to report

an Ordinance for the government of this territory. This resulted in Jefferson's Ordinance, the fifth Article of which declared that, "after "the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall "be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, "in any of the said States, otherwise than in "punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall "have been duly convicted to have been per-"sonally guilty." This Report further advised the division of the territory into ten States, by parallels of Latitude and Meridian lines, these States to bear the names of Assenisipia, Silvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Metropotamia, Illenoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia. The slavery prohibition was struck out, on motion of Mr. Spaight of North Carolina, seconded by Mr. Read of South Carolina —*Journal of Congress, 1784*, 373. In this mutilated form, the Ordinance was passed, on the twenty-third of April. On the sixteenth of March, 1785, Mr. King of Massachusetts succeeded in getting an absolute prohibitory Article committed to a Committee of one from each State; but the effort was again defeated, and the Ordinance passed, on the twentieth of May, 1785, with no fundamental prohibition of slavery in the North-western Territory—*Journal of Congress, 1785*, 481, 520. Up to the time of the Ohio Company's purchase, there had been two attempts to legislate on the modified or absolute exclusion of slavery; but both had proved failures. The Virginia reservation was made in the rich "Scioto Country;" and it may well be doubted whether Mr. Jefferson's prohibitory Article, allowing slavery in the Territory for sixteen years, would not have become the very means of giving slavery a hold from which no force could have dislodged it.

And this was the status of the business, at the time the clerical Agent of the Ohio Company made his proposals to the Continental Congress, for the purchase of several millions of acres of land in the Ohio country. One attempt for a modified plan, to be in force until 1800, and another for an absolute prohibition, at once and forever, had failed. The Agent seemed, with consummate good sense, to perceive what were the opinions and wants of his constituents; and that, when he was conducting his negotiations with Congress, there was not a line on their statute-book which met those opinions and wants. These men were no ordinary land-speculators, buying land and letting it remain to be appreciated by the labors of others. They meant to sell their freeholds, in New England, and cut loose, entirely, from them, as a place of habitation; to carry their wives and children thither; to organize civilization, at once, with families, churches, schools, courts, and laws, very similar to what they were leaving behind. Many of these men had seen slavery in States where it most flourished; and, with keen insight into its actual present and prospective evils, desired to be rid of the system, through all their generations. Doctor Cutler well knew that Putnam, and Tupper, and their companions, in this enterprise, would as soon have planted a Colony in Virginia or Georgia as on the Muskingum, unless there should be fundamental guarantees against the introduction of the hated system; and we strenuously insist that we cannot rightly interpret this Diary of Doctor Cutler, nor his extreme solicitude about the terms of agreement and the Ordinance for the government of the North-west Territory, without viewing the transaction, from this stand-point. It was as an honored, living descendant of the Ohio Company's Agent has pointedly put it, when he says, in regard to the policy of the real "Jeffersonian Ordinance" of 1784, "He" [*Jefferson*] "provided that slavery *might remain* "until 1800. If settlements had been effected "under that Ordinance, and the system of slav-"ery had acquired a growth of sixteen years— "from 1784 to 1800—it is idle to suppose that "the prohibition, after 1800, would have been "of any practical value. It must also be borne "in mind, as a collateral fact, tending to prove "a willingness, on the part of Jefferson and his "friends, to accommodate slavery with a 'lim-"'ited period,' that Congress had agreed with "the State of Virginia, that all the lands be-"tween the Scioto and Little Miami, should be "used for the benefit of Virginia officers, sol-"diers of the Revolution. What so natural as "that these men should desire to take their "'servants' with them, to perform the exhaust-"ing labor and toil of new settlements? It is "very evident to my mind, that, whatever anti-"slavery notions Jefferson may have entertain-"ed, they were rather the timid vagaries of the "Philosopher than the resolute plans of the "practical Statesman. Under his indulgent "treatment, the curse would have spread over "the entire North-west. When the Puritan "grappled with the monster, his head rolled "off, instanter. The Ordinance of '87 was the "proper and legitimate fruit of Puritanism. "Whatever credit may be found to belong to "prominent actors, respectively—Doctor Cutler "and Mr. Dane—it must be borne in mind that "they represented a Puritan constituency, the "one as a member of Congress and the other "as their special Agent, sent to look after and "arrange the foundations for their future home-"steads. Doctor Cutler and Mr. Dane were "neighbors and intimate personal friends; and "it is but reasonable to suppose that they acted "jointly and harmoniously, and were faithful

"representatives of an intelligent constituency, "who understood their own wants and were "quite determined to have *Law* as well as *Land*, "for their future heritage. I think it but fair "to claim for Docter Cutler, at least, an equal "participation in the great event of '87. He "was specially commissioned and sent to New "York for the purpose; and I think his Jour- "nal affords ample evidence that he performed "his duty faithfully and well."—*Substance of Hon. William P. Cutler's Speech, at the Pioneer Celebration, at Marietta, April 7, 1866.*

We shall have occasion, in another place, to allude to Mr. Jefferson's relations to the great North-west, at a subsequent stage in its history.

On the thirteenth of July, 1787, the celebrated "Ordinance for the government of the Ter- "ritory of the United States, North-west of the "Ohio River," was passed. This Ordinance contained two Articles of special significance, in their relations to the future States to be organized in that territory. The *third* ordained that "*Schools and means of education shall, for- "ever, be encouraged;*" and the *sixth*, that "*there "shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servi- "tude in said territory.*" The entire instrument is worthy the age and the exigency calling it forth; but those two Articles must make it famous forever. It becomes a matter of great interest, to inquire who was the responsible agent in the introduction of the anti-slavery Article which is, except in one important respect, quite similar to that introduced by Mr. Jefferson, in 1784, and, as Mr. Greeley says, lost only by "a most deplorable and fatal acci- "dent of the absence of a member from New "Jersey."

In his famous rejoinder to Colonel Hayne, Mr. Webster eulogized Mr. Dane, as the sole author of this celebrated Article, and, indeed, of the entire Ordinance. This is the common opinion, as recorded in works and speeches which treat of this important transaction. We do not wish to detract from Mr. Dane's well-deserved honors. There is no doubt that he reported the Ordinance and helped secure its adoption; but we cannot resist the conviction that Doctor Cutler was "the power behind the "throne," who suggested and urged it. It is to be regretted that we have not more accurate records from his and other pens: but it will be remembered that, as already quoted from his Journal, on the tenth of July, the day before Mr. Dane reported the Ordinance, Doctor Cutler made this record, "that as Congress was now "engaged in settling the form of Government "for the Federal Territory for which a Bill has "been proposed and *a copy sent to me, to make "remarks and propose amendments, and which I "had taken the liberty to remark upon and* PRO- "POSE SEVERAL AMENDMENTS, I thought this "the most favorable opportunity to go to Phil- "adelphia: *accordingly, after I* HAD RETURNED "THE BILL, WITH MY OBSERVATIONS, *I set out, at "7 o'clock.*" The next day, Mr. Dane reported the Ordinance; on the thirteenth, Congress passed it; and, on the nineteenth, Doctor Cutler was back in New York, and records, in his Journal, these words: "Called on members of "Congress, very early, this morning—was fur- "nished with the Ordinance establishing the "Western Federal Territory. It is, in a degree, "*new-modeled*—THE AMENDMENTS *I proposed "have* ALL *been made except one and that was bet- "ter qualified.* It was that we should not be "subject to *taxation*, &c."

With this, now associate the UNVARYING TRADITION—perhaps a stronger term is warranted—handed down, by Doctor Manasseh Cutler, to his eldest son, the late Judge Ephraim Cutler, of Washington-county, Ohio; and, by him, to his son, the Hon. William P. Cutler, of the same place, that, among the most important amendments which he suggested, was *this one excluding slavery*, or involuntary servitude, forever, from that territory, a part of which he was seeking to purchase, for actual settlement, by men who hated slavery and belonged to the only Commonwealth of the original thirteen which then had no slaves, and whose anxieties were, at this very time, excited by the fact that a large portion of that very Western country, which they were expecting to make their home, had been given to Revolutionary officers belonging to a slave State. All these facts bear on the question whether Doctor Cutler is not fully entitled to the honor of an equal share, in the conception which, when legitimated by Congress, has proved the one great cause of what the North-west now is, and of all it promises, in the future, to be.

It may be that, in some old closet or chest, in some old house, in New England, may be reposing the very letters, or diaries, or documents, which may settle this claim, definitely, as false or well-founded. That the name of Mr. Dane is, and that it ought to be, forever, associated with this Ordinance, we shall insist on, most strenuously; at the same time, we feel warranted, also, in the conclusion that the truly able, sagacious, and indefatigable Agent of the Ohio Company, Doctor Manasseh Cutler, also bore a very important part in bringing that instrument into the form which, for its own sake and also for the momentous results flowing from it, must take its place, in history, that is never to be forgotten. We now begin to appreciate the importance of the act, and would emblazon on the great act itself, the two names of Nathan Dane and Manasseh Cutler.

We omit, entirely, the familiar facts pertaining to the actual settlement made at Marietta, the next year; the marked men led by General Rufus Putnam, to take possession of lands which could never be lawfully trodden by slaves; the thrilling adventures which attended the planting of the institutions of civilization, there; the wars with the savages; and the Peace conquered by General Wayne. These facts are accessible, in any library; but it is in point to remark that, among the most assiduous agents in inducing emigration to the good land he had purchased for the Ohio Company, was Doctor Cutler, who used the press, as an important auxiliary. In 1787, soon after his negotiations with Congress had been successfully concluded, he published "an anonymous "pamphlet, which seems, now, to have been pro-"phetic to a degree truly surprising. He haz-"ards the prediction that many, then living, "would see our Western waters navigated by "the power of steam; and that, within fifty "years, the North-western Territory would "contain more inhabitants than all New Eng-'land. What seemed, at the time, a random "and improbable conjecture, has since risen to "the dignity of a prophecy, the fulfilment of "which has astonished the world."—Sprague's *Annals, ii., 17.*

In 1791, it was *guessed* that Ohio had about three thousand people; and, at Vincennes, there were nearly two hundred French slave-holding families. After Wayne's Treaty with the Indians, emigration began to pour into the Territory, rapidly, so that, in 1800. Ohio had forty-two thousand, one hundred, and fifty-six. The first County organized, that of Washington, dates back to 1788; and the first Court, to the same year. The first Territorial Legislature began its sessions, at Cincinnati, on the sixteenth of September, 1799. The late Judge Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati, was one of the Legislative Council, consisting of four, one being from Cincinnati, one from Vincennes, one from Marietta, and one from the region of Steubenville. The lower house was made up of Representatives from what are now Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. The condition of the country may be inferred from the fact that Judge Burnet's law-circuit embraced not a small part of that immense district, just named. On the third of March, 1800, a Committee of Congress reported on the condition of the country, its Courts, and laws; and recommended the setting off the Indiana Territory. This took effect in 1801; when General W. H. Harrison became the first Governor. In that year, an attempt was made to divide the present territory of Ohio, by making the Scioto the boundary, thus postponing the admission of Ohio as a State. This led to a special mission to Washington, by the late Governor Worthington, who defeated the obnoxious measure and secured the passage of a law permitting the People of Ohio to form a State Constitution, in order to admission into the Federal Union.

The settlers on the Ohio Land Company's purchase were opposed to the formation of the State, at that time. The Convention for forming the new Constitution met in September, 1802; and, on the preliminary question, as to the expediency of forming a State Constitution, Ephraim Cutler, the eldest son of Doctor Cutler, stood alone in the opposition. For many facts, relating to this remarkable man, we are indebted to the funeral discourse delivered by Professor E. B. Andrews of Marietta-college; and for other facts to the memoranda and conversations of Judge Cutler himself. The Constitutional Convention was divided into three parties—the first, a slavery party, led by a Mr. John W. Brown, an Englishman, naturalized at Marietta, a Dissenting Minister, who represented Hamilton-county, in the Convention. The only time Ephraim Cutler was ever known to be in a towering passion, was when, on his way to this Convention, he heard this man, Brown, declare that "Washington was no better than an Atheist;" and he told the libeler if he repeated the offence he would whip him. The second party was anti slavery; and was led by Judge Cutler. The third party was made up of those members who were not identified with either of the others; and who held the balance of power, in the Convention.

In order to understand the nature of this struggle, in that first Constitutional Convention, North of the Ohio, and on which so much depended as to the future Commonwealths of the Great Valley and, indeed, the entire Republic, it must be remembered, as already stated, that a large tract of the best lands in Ohio had been reserved for Virginia soldiers; that, already, along the Ohio and Scioto, with their tributaries, including a considerable fraction of the "Scioto and Miami Country," had already settled large numbers of emigrants, from Virginia and other slave States, who desired to bring their slaves with them, and who, perhaps, in some cases did bring them; but the most of whom regarded with dislike the Ordinance of '87, as doing them a wrong. We know there were slaves in Indiana and Illinois; and we have heard the fact asserted that there were slaves in Ohio, also. Indeed, we have no doubt of the fact.

We have already mentioned the fact that the pro-slavery party in the Ohio Constitutional Convention was led by a Mr. Brown. He, as Judge Ephraim Cutler affirms, openly declared

that his "views were sanctioned by one of the "greatest statesmen of the day."

It now appears that *Mr. Jefferson* was the high authority quoted as sanctioning the limited slavery scheme and using his influence to secure its adoption in Ohio. To some, this may appear incredible; but, in fact, this very element was in his draft of the Ordinance of 1784, "*that*, "*after the Year 1800 of the Christian Era*, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary "servitude in any of the said States." This dissolves the improbability of the statement as to the part Mr. Jefferson, through his friends, took in the attempt to introduce a system of limited slavery into Ohio. The question was at once raised by the Convention's Committee on the *Bill of Rights*, of which this John W. Brown was the Chairman and Judge Cutler a member. The Judge records it in his diary that "an exciting subject was immediately brought "before the Committee, the subject of admitting "or excluding slavery. Mr. Brown produced a "Section which defined the subject, in effect, "thus: *No person shall be held in slavery, if a* "*male, after he is thirty-five years of age; and,* "*if a female, after twenty five years of age.*"

In private conversations, Judge Cutler declared his conviction that this momentous sentence, proposed for adoption into the fundamental laws of the new State, was inspired by Thomas Jefferson and was in his handwriting; and he hints this conviction, in the following entry in his Journal: "I observed to the Com- "mittee, that those who had elected me to re- "present them, there, were desirous of having "this matter clearly understood, and I must "move to have the Section laid on the table, "until our next meeting; and, to avoid any "warmth of feeling, I hoped that each member "of the Committee would prepare a Section "which would express his views, fully, on this "important subject. The Committee met, next "morning, and I was called on for what I had "proposed, the last evening. I THEN READ "THEM THE SECTION, AS IT NOW STANDS IN "THE CONSTITUTION. Mr. Brown said that "what he had introduced was taught by the "*greatest men in the nation* to be, if established "in our Constitution, obtaining a great step "toward a general emancipation of slavery; "and was, in his opinion, greatly to be prefer- "red to what I had offered."

Professor Andrews, in his eulogy on Judge Cutler, cites "a letter received, recently, from a "gentleman of high respectability and intelli- "gence," which throws light not merely on the position of President Jefferson, but on the critical position of the embryo States of the West, at that time. "In the Winter of 1846-7," writes this gentleman, "as I think, I had several con- "versations with the late *Governor Jeremiah* "*Morrow*, who was then at Columbus. These "related, in a considerable degree, to the early "history of Ohio, the Convention that formed "the Constitution of 1802, and the characters of "many of the leading men of that period. I "had then just read, very attentively, the Jour- "nals of the Convention, and, being interested "in the subject, sought to elicit from him such "reminiscences as he had, in relation to these "points. In one of them, he stated that, when "he went to Philadelphia, as a member of "Congress, in 1803, he visited *Mr. Jefferson;* "that their conversation turned upon the new "Constitution of Ohio; that Mr. Jefferson "commended it, highly, in its main features, "but thought the Convention had misjudged, "in some particulars. One of them was in the "structure of the Judiciary, which Mr. J. "thought too restricted for the *future* wants of "the State, using, in this connection, the ex- "pression that 'they legislated too much.' "Another was the *exclusion of slavery. Mr.* "*Jefferson thought it would have been more judi-* "*cious to have admitted slavery, for a limited* "*period*, 'an opinion,' added Governor Morrow, "'in which I did not concur.' His statement "of the conversation with Mr. Jefferson was "much more full and minute; but, as I have "not by me the memoranda I made, at the "time, I can give only the substance. *This I* "*am sure is correct.*"

With this position attributed to Mr. Jeffsrson, we think many confirmatory statements might be selected from his published volumes. The names of the Committee having this important Section under consideration, as given in the *Journal of the Convention*, were Messrs. Brown, Cutler, Goforth, Dunlavy, Baldwin, Grubb, Wood, Updegraff, and Donaldson. Here were two propositions—the one for a limited slavery, understood and believed in the Convention to have emanated from President Jefferson, and the other, that which was introduced by Ephraim Cutler and as contained in Article VIII., Section II., of the old Constitution of Ohio, absolutely declaring that "there "shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servi- "tude, in this State," etc. These propositions were warmly argued in the Committee, especially by Mr. Brown and Mr. Cutler. The latter was not a man of liberal culture, but of large reading and honored as the founder of the first public library in Ohio. He had settled in Ohio, in 1795, a noble Christian pioneer from Massachusetts; a man of singular modesty and yet unbending independence and integrity. He, like many plain men of that day, had reflected, profoundly, on the great questions which were before our nation, during the period

of the Revolution and the formation of the Federal Constitution. On the subject of slavery, as "a political and social cancer," his convictions were clear as light; and, in common with thousands of the best men, in New England, he settled on the North bank of the Ohio, because he had faith that the great Ordinance of '87 would, forever, shelter that land from the curse which rested on the Southern States. He was naturally a lethargic man; and it required extraordinary motives to rouse him to exert his full power. Tradition says that, in that Committee-room, he argued like a great Christian statesman, who felt that the destinies of the future were entrusted to his keeping; and so well did he put the case that, on the final vote, five of the Committee stood with him and four with Brown; and so Cutler's Article was reported to the Convention. But it was by no means yet out of danger. Brown and his friends were active and determined; and, one day, when Cutler was confined to his room, by sickness, they took the opportunity to move and *carry* an amendment, which, in effect, neutralised or set aside, altogether, the Article as reported by the Committee, and introduced the Article rejected in the Committee-room. They were very exultant over their victory; but, the next day, a scene occurred which is worthy of record. Judge Cutler moved to strike out the hateful amendment that proposed to fasten slavery on Ohio; but Brown insolently demanded what he wanted *that* for, and broadly sneered at the gentleman as "hard to please," and patronizingly asked "what he wanted?" The English renegade, whom his antagonist had threatened to whip if he reviled Washington's good name again, now seemed to take special delight in asserting his superiority. The young farmer was thoroughly stirred up and, with masterly power, unfolded the nature of the system sought to be fastened on the young Commonwealth of Ohio, and its influence on the morals, manners, thrift, and political destinies of States—he portrayed, also, the disastrous consequences of introducing that into the new State, which the best men in Old Virginia were deploring, as a curse and calamity. He spoke with great power and the eloquence of conviction; and so well that, to quote from his own journal, "When the vote was called, Mr. Milli-"gan changed his vote and we succeeded in "placing it—the Article—in its original state. "Thus an overruling Providence, by His wis-"dom makes use of the weak to defeat the "purposes of the great and wise."

Thus a Massachusetts farmer, by his firmness and wisdom, defeated a measure which *depended* on the *stability of only one vote* to have entailed, not on Ohio alone, but the other Western States, the calamities which have allen so heavily on Kentucky and Missouri. And it was singularly fit that these two men, father and son, Manasseh and Ephraim Cutler, should be the instruments of accomplishing such beneficent measures for the West, the one, in conjunction with Mr. Dane, suggesting the immortal Sixth Article in the Ordinance of 1787, and the other carrying it into effect, in the Constitution of the first State included in that North-western Territory, and so determining the character of the rest.

In a historical discussion of the Ordinance of '87, Governor Coles of Illinois says that, after Indiana was organized, as a Territory, several hundred slaves were held there. The same was true of Illinois. After the passage of the Ordinance, the larger slaveholders, in what is now Indiana and Illinois, removed their slaves across the Mississippi or Ohio; but not a few of the more ignorant among them, being unacquained with the English language, continued to hold their slaves, for many years.

Under date of the twelfth of January, 1796, four persons of Kaskaskia, in a Memorial to Congress, represent that they "now are possess-"ed of a number of slaves which the Article "above" [*Sixth Article, Ordinance of '87*] "seems to deprive them of (perhaps inadvert-"ently) without their consent or concurrence." They argue the question as to the justice and constitutionality of the Article, which "would "deprive them of their most valuable proper-"ty." In view of their reasoning, they "hum-"bly pray that the Sixth Article of Compact, "in the Ordinance of 1787, may either be re-"pealed or altered so as to give permission to "introduce slaves into said Territory, from any "of the original States, or otherwise; that a "law may be made permitting the introduction "of such slaves, as servants for life; and that "it may be enacted for what period the chil-"dren of such servants shall serve the master "of their parents."—*American State Papers, Public Lands, i., 61.* The Committee of the House reported adversely, that they are informed it would be disagreeable to many of the inhabitants of the Territory, "and the petition "ought not to be granted." The early French colonists, who settled at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, held many slaves; and, during the successive occupancy of the territory, by France, Great Britain, and Virginia, up to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, "the right of the "inhabitants of the territory to hold slaves "was not questioned by any legislative author-"ity." Both in Indiana and Illinois, previous to their becoming States, "rules had been pre-

"scribed," by the Territorial Legislature, allowing a limited period of slavery; "but many "slaves were removed from the Indiana Terri- "tory—including, then, Illinois—either to the "Western side of the Mississippi or to some of "the slave-holding States."—Dillon's *Indiana, 410;* Ford's *Illinois, 32.*

General William Henry Harrison, a native Virginian, the first Governor of Indiana Territory, was said to be a pro-slavery man in his sympathies; and, in a letter addressed to Congress, in 1803, he declared that "the people of "Indiana," by their Delegates, in Convention assembled, give "their consent to the suspen- "sion of the Sixth Article of the Compact be- "tween the United States and the people of "that Territory." On the second of March, 1803, John Randolph of Roanoke reported against this "declaration" in the following language: "That the rapid population of the "State of Ohio sufficiently evinces that the "labor of slaves is not necessary to promote "the growth and settlement of colonies, in "that region. That this labor, demonstrably "the dearest of any, can only, with advantage, "be employed in the cultivation of products "more valuable than any known in that quarter "of the United States; that the Committee "deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to "impair a provision wisely calculated to pro- "mote the happiness and prosperity of the "North-western country and to give strength "and security to that extensive frontier. In "the salutary operation of this sagacious and "benevolent restraint, it is believed that the "inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very dis- "tant day, find ample remuneration for a tem- "porary privation of labor and emigration."—*American State Papers, Public Lands, i., 146.* The memorialists, in this case, present the case as strongly as they can, "as highly advantage- "ous to the Territory," and also because the people of Indiana "were not represented in "the body" which passed the Ordinance. In 1804, some Indiana people sent a similar petition to Congress. To this, Mr. Rodney of Delaware, Chairman of the Committee, reported, recommending the suspension of the Sixth Article—the anti-slavery one—of the Ordinance, for ten years, on condition that the descendants of such slaves should, if males, be free at twenty five years and, if females, at twenty-one. The House rejected the Report. In 1806, a third petition was presented; and Mr. Garnett of Virginia repeated the recommendation of Mr. Rodney, in 1804; and, again, the House voted it down. In 1807, Mr. Parke, the Delegate of the Indiana Territory, made a similar proposition, which the House again refused to adopt; and, in November, 1807, a similar petition was presented to Congress, from the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory. At the same time, was presented a Remonstrance from the citizens of Clarke-county; and, in view of all the facts, Mr. Franklin of North Carolina reported against any suspension of the Ordinance of 1787. This Report was adopted by the House of Representatives.

It was this series of attempts to foist slavery into the territory North of the Ohio and covered by the immortal Ordinance of '87, that led Thomas Benton, on the tenth of June, 1850, to say, in the Senate of the United States, "Thus "five times, in four years, the respective "Houses of Congress refused to admit even a "temporary extension or rather re-extension "of slavery into Indiana Territory, which had "been, before the Ordinance of 1787, a slave- "territory, holding many slaves at Vincennes. "These five refusals to suspend the Ordinance "of '87 were so many confirmations of it. All "the rest of the action of Congress on the sub- "ject was to the same effect and stronger."—Coles' *History of the Ordinance of 1787, 20–22.*

These repeated refusals led to some curious measures in the Territory of Indiana; and, among these, the passing of a law "authoriz- "ing the indenture of slaves, over fifteen years "of age, for a specified term of years. In many "cases, it was extended, in practice, to *ninety- "nine years*, or for a term which was intended "to include the life of the party indentured. "As a slave is not competent, by law, to make "an agreement or contract, he had first to be "made free before he could enter into the "indenture. But this was made a mere matter "of form, being done simultaneously, and the "master taking care that neither instrument "should be valid until the other was executed. "If a slave, after his master had signed his in- "strument of emancipation, and he was nomin- "ally free, should refuse to sign his indenture, "the master had the right to send him out of "the State, to sell him, and to retain over him "all his rights as a master."—Coles' *History of the Ordinance of '87, 22–23.*

Repeated attempts were made to nullify the Ordinance, by submitting cases to the Supreme Court of Indiana; but, in every case, the Court sustained the Ordinance. In the same spirit, both in Indiana and Illinois, the subject was brought into the political arena; and the whole ground was fought over, with the greatest animosity. In some cases, the Ordinance was in peril; but, in the end, it triumphed over opposition. Governor Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, gives a graphic picture of the introduction of a qualified apprenticeship, or slavery; the laws passed in consequence, and

borrowed directly from the Codes of Virginia and Kentucky; and the uncasiness produced among the settlers by the Southern emigrants, who crossed the State, into Missouri, with their numerous slaves. Fortunately, the "new gos-"pel" of the later day had not been proclaim-ed; and there was enough sagacity and moral rectitude, in high places, to deny the wicked popular importunity, which, first in Ohio, then in Indiana, and then in Illinois, demanded the introduction of that system of human bondage which had so crippled and weakened Kentucky as to suffer Ohio, her younger free-soil rival, far to outstrip her, and Illinois to outstrip her rival, Missouri, and entailed evils of the greatest magnitude on all the new slave-States, from Tennessee to Texas.

But, in the results we have described as having been attained in the nine Western States of the Great Valley, named in the beginning of this article—results which, in our opinion, constitute one of the most remarkable civil developments known in history; results which must mainly be assigned to two potent causes, *Free Soil* and *Free Schools*—history will not do full justice to the agents employed by Divine Providence, in their accomplishment, until she names, with the most honorable approbation, not only that true and pure statesman, Nathan Dane, but those honored and great men, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., and his son, Judge Ephraim Cutler, whose wise foresight, and resolute purpose, and devout virtue, so greatly aided in planting the seeds which have sprung up into universal freedom and Free Schools for the North-west.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND. J. F. T.

IV.—*HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO-COUNTY, NEW YORK.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 101.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

VII.—*TOWN AND VILLAGE OF NORWICH.*

Among the earliest settlers in the territory now comprised in the County of Chenango, were Avery Power, of Norwich, Benjamin Hovey, of Oxford, and William Guthrie, of Jericho, now Bainbridge.

Mr. Power immigrated hither, with his family, from the Eastern States, as early as 1788, and became the occupant of the "Indian-fields," one mile below the present village of Norwich, paying a small rent, in produce and merchandize, to the Indian proprietors of the "Castle," on the East side of the river, who had already effected a partial clearing on the opposite "fields." In 1790, he perfected his title, by a purchase of his farm, then consisting of two hundred and eighty-six acres, from the State, at three shillings, or seventy-five cents per acre; and opened an inn, or house of public entertainment, for his Indian friends and such of the white settlers or travelers as might require temporary accommodation. In 1800, he sold the farm to Captain John Randall, for the sum of forty-one hundred dollars, in whose possession and that of his descendants—John Randall, Junior, and Charles York—it remained, until a very recent period, when it passed into the hands of Jeduthan Newton, of Norwich. Benjamin Hovey, in 1789, purchased of the State a large tract of land in that part of the original township of Fayette, now included in the village of Oxford; and William Guthrie, in 1790, opened a public-house, in a portion of the township of Clinton, afterwards called Jericho, and now known as Bainbridge.

The citizens of Norwich, in 1789, employed Captain John Harris, an early settler, and a man of enterprise and energy, to purchase the land comprised in the present village and other lands situated in the valley of the Chenango. He, however, seems to have engaged in a sea-voyage, after arriving in New York, where the sales were to take place, and committed his trust to an agent, who was outbid by Mr. Leonard M. Cutting, who offered one penny more per lot, and to whom the whole was struck off. He re-sold the lots, to the principals of Captain Harris, for five dollars per acre each, an advance of about four dollars, on his own purchase. On his death-bed, shortly afterwards, he re-conveyed the fifteenth town—Norwich—to Melancthon Smith and John Stiles, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, the former of whom immediately came on and executed contracts to the settlers in possession, with the exception of Avery Power, who had previously purchased from the State.

The first settlers in Norwich, after Power, were chiefly immigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and found their way into the Chenango-valley, in the Fall and Winter of 1790 and Spring of 1791, either, by way of Albany, to the Unadilla-river, and thence, through the wilderness, aided by the marked trees of the early surveyors, to the Power farm and tavern; or, directly, through Whitestown, near the present site of Utica, down the Chenango. Among them were David Fairchild, who took up the "Terry Farm," near the old Gates' Tavern, four miles below the village; Silas Cole, who purchased the tract of land, included in the present village, North of the South bridge across the Canasewacta-creek and East of Main-street to its intersection with the street running East to

the river, subsequently known as the "Elder "Randall" and "Judge Steere" farms, built the house afterwards owned by Elder Jedediah Randall and subsequently by Charles York, and occupied it as a tavern;* William Smiley, who located the farm, next South of "the old "Randall farm," subsequently owned by Elias Breed, and now in the possession of John Fryer and William R. Breed;† Nicholas Pickett, who purchased the large farm, on the East side of the river, known as the "Nathan Pendleton farm;‡ Thomas Brooks, a Massachusetts-man, compromised by the "Shay's rebellion," who occupied a portion of the land subsequently owned by Peter B. Garnsey, and built a log dwelling on what is now known as the "West Green" of the village;§ Israel, Charles, and Matthew Graves, who became the owners of all that part of the present village of Norwich lying North of its southern boundary, and West of South Main-street, to the North line of the old "Seth Gar-"lick property;" Manasseh French, the first clergyman, who settled on what was afterwards known as the "Joseph Brown farm," a little South of Norwich village; Captain John Harris, the purchaser of the "old Harris farm," on the East of North Main-street, and North of the "Judge Steere property;" Samuel Hammond, owner of the farm next adjoining "the Harris "farm," on the North: Hascell Ransford and William Ransford, who became the purchasers of a large farm, lying on both sides of the high-way, North of the "Harris" and "Dickinson" farms; Daniel Skinner; William Munroe, afterwards, for many years, Sheriff of the County, who was the purchaser, from the State, of the "Garnsey farm," extending from the "Gallick "farm," on the West side of South Main-street, in Norwich village, to the Canasewacta-creek, and North to the South bounds of the "Dickin-"son farm" and which was, subsequently, purchased by Elisha Smith, Esq., who transferred it to Peter B. Garnsey, in whose possession it remained until his death, and is now occupied by his heirs;* Josiah Dickinson, who became the owner of all the land lying North of the "old "Garnsey farm," and West of North Main-street, to the northern boundary of the village; and Stephen Steere, who purchased, of Silas Cole, all the land North of the South Canasewacta-bridge, on the East side of Main-street, to the "Harris farm," on the North, and extending, easterly, to the river, with the exception of the "Jedediah Randall farm," on the South, and the adjacent dwelling-house and lot of Doctor Jonathan Johnson. Benjamin Edmunds purchased, early in the present century, the lot of ground on the East side of South Main-street, North of the residence of Judge Steere, and extending, North, as far as the North boundary of the lot on which the American Hotel, formerly known as the "Noyes House" now stands. On this lot, Mr. Edmunds built the "old yellow "house," the late residence of Judge Purdy, and the adjoining house, belonging to the Rider family. Thompson Mead, Josiah Brown, John Wait, Martin Taylor, Joseph Skinner, William Ransford, Junior, William Gibson, (the old butcher) Simeon and Job Spencer, John Welch, Lemuel Southwick, Leonard Monroe, Lobben Jaynes, and Richard Miller are also enumerated by Mr. Clark, as among the early settlers of the village and its immediate vicinity—all, without exception, dead, now. "Miss Clara Brooks "came into the town, when a child, with her "father, Major Brooks, and was believed [*1850*] "to be the oldest of the females living, who "first settled in Norwich. Miss Harriet Graves, "afterwards Mrs. Hascall Ransford, Senior, re-"moved into the town, in the year 1791.†"

It will be perceived that the original owners of all the land now included within the bounds of the village of Norwich, at or about the commencement of the present century, were:

* Mr. Cole seems to have become, shortly after, embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and to have parted with his fram to Elder Jedediah Randall, who, on his death, bequeathed to Judge York, that portion now occupied by him. Cole subsequently emigrated to Ohio, where he died, several years since.

† "The 'Smiley farm' included the once famous sul-"phur-spring, which, in times past, was a fashionable "resort for the villagers. The waters were supposed to "possess valuable medicinal qualities; but, by attempted "improvement, its vein was finally destroyed."—*Clark.*

‡ "He occupied it for a few years, when he sold out, "and removed westward."—*Clark.*

§ "His property, East, was confiscated to the Govern-"ment; and he came hither to repair losses. The Major "always admitted his participation in the rebellion, and "justified it. He had also been a soldier in the Revolu-"tionary War, and was at Bunker's-hill. Major Brooks "built a log-house, on the West Green, in Norwich vil-"lage. *There was not a hammer nor a nail used about "the building*—these articles not having then been intro-"duced. Afterwards, the Major removed to Plymouth, "where he suddenly died by the fall of a tree, about the "year 1823-4."—*Clark.*

* This farm extended, on the West, to the Canasawacta-creek, and, for some distance beyond, where the Garnsey Mills were subsequently erected. "Prior to the erection "of these mills," observes Mr. Clark, "the inhabitants "either transported part of their grain to Tioga-point, at "great expense and endless toil, or they constructed mor-"tars, by hollowing out, at one end, a log, from three to "four feet in length, and working them by a sweep above, "with a pestle attached." Such were the hardships, labors, and privations of the pioneer settlers of the Chenango-valley, within the memory of some now living!

† Clark's *History of Chenango.*